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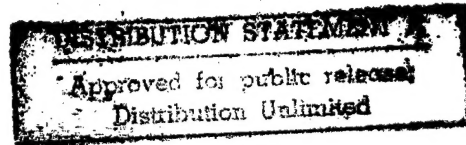
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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



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6 December 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## BULGARIA

### REAGAN'S SOVIET INTERVIEWER CRITICIZES REAGAN'S POSITION

AU111554 Sofia BTA in English 0803 GMT 11 Nov 85

[Text] Sofia, November 11 (BTA)--Judging from what we were told by the U.S. President at the interview, the White House counts on scoring propaganda points out of the mere fact of a Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva, without any intention to budge even an inch from its stands on the essence of the key issues concerning the whole of mankind." Such is the conclusion which Mr Genadiy Shishin, one of the Soviet journalists who interviewed President Reagan, draws in an article contributed exclusively to the BTA express publication occasioned by the upcoming Gorbachev-Reagan meeting.

The author, a former longtime correspondent to the U.S. and now deputy director general of the TASS NEWS AGENCY, points out that Mr Reagan's markedly peaceloving statements are obviously intended to soothe the U.S. public, weary of the arms race tensions. We could only welcome these sound words which, not long ago, were entirely absent from the White House vocabulary, were they backed up by concrete deeds and not just paying the inevitable compliments to the public opinion," Mr Shishkin stresses. Unfortunately, however, neither in his written replies nor in the talk that followed did the U.S. President give any concrete answer to the question worrying millions of people in the world. What are the U.S. planning to do in response to the unilateral Soviet steps and constructive proposals, aimed to halt the arms race in all areas (outer space included) and to achieve really deep cuts in nuclear stockpiles. Instead, Mr Shishkin emphasizes, the President would rather to advertise his "strategic defence initiative", which is evidently intended to give the U.S. a chance to inflict a first strike with impunity and cripple the capability of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to retaliate on the aggressor.

The author of the article dwells on the President's assurances that the U.S. would allegedly deploy its defence shield only after an elimination of strike nuclear weapons. Even Mr Reagan's closest aides would not take these assurances in earnest. It is not by chance that already on the following day the White House found itself compelled to disavow Mr Reagan's remarks," Mr Shishkin emphasizes. Obviously, the translation of Mr Reagan's programme into reality will usher in an uncontrollable process of an even more feverish arms race. And carrying it over into the next century and into the next millenium will

devour astronomical sums in military spending, which will lay a heavy burden on the peoples in the world and will seriously escalate the nuclear threat."

The Soviet journalist says the President was also quite unconvincing in his promises to make the "strategic defence" technology available to other countries, the Soviet Union included. "For even the U.S. allies, invited by the administration to join the realisation of its project, complain that the U.S. does not intend to admit them to its technological secrets" while Washington's actual purpose is to "brain-drain" them and thus economize on U.S. funds and expedite as much as possible the implementation of the "star wars" programme.

In this connection, Mr Genadiy Shishkin draws an analogy with the well-known "Baruch plan", by means of which the U.S. sought to perpetuate its own nuclear monopoly in response to the 1946 Soviet-proposed nuclear-weapons ban and stockpile dismantling.

"In answer to the President's contentions that the U.S. did not intend to avail itself of its nuclear monopoly after the Second World War," Mr Shishkin emphasizes, "we reminded that according to now declassified Pentagon papers, already in the autumn of 1945 the Soviet Union was cited in Washington's official plans not merely as a potential adversary but also as a target of nuclear attack." "A look at the map of the worldwide distribution of U.S. military bases is further evidence showing clearly enough who encircles whom and hence who threatens whom," the author goes on to say. He categorically dismisses the President's insinuations that actions by the Soviet Union, and more specifically the developments in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, were allegedly at the bottom of regional conflicts and in the long run of the u-turn from detente to confrontation. "In this case, too, he only repeated the old American propaganda theses in which the legitimate aid for the peoples who have opted for the road of freedom is portrayed as 'occupation', while armed invasions and counterrevolutionary coups, staged in the interests of the U.S. imperialist circles, are called 'liberation'," Mr Genadiy Shishkin emphasizes. "Take any example from our time, and you will see that whenever the people in some country want to exercise their right to an independent and free development, be it in the Middle East, in the southern part of Africa, in Central America or in Asia, it is the U.S. which gives backing to those who turn against the popular majority, against the rightful governments," the article indicates.

Having voiced his concern over the White House's careless distortion of even generally recognized truths, Mr Shishkin writes in conclusion: "And yet, the very awareness of the need for a wide-ranging Soviet-American dialogue is a positive fact in itself. The time of words is running out. The time of deeds is setting in. Let us hope that in Geneva the readiness of the Soviet Union to achieve a radical change for the better in Soviet-American relations will meet with a constructive response from the American side. This is what the world expects from the summit.

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CSO: 2200/34

BULGARIA

BTA ASSESSES WARSAW PACT MEETING'S IMPORTANCE

AU221054 Sofia BTA in English 1029 GMT 22 Oct 85

["Awareness of the Historical Responsibility"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 22 (BTA commentator Todor Stoyanov)--The session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries started in the capital of Bulgaria.

All people who regard peace as a universal value have centered their hopes on this session. No doubt the decisions, which are going to be adopted by the leaders of the socialist countries in Sofia, will be directed against nuclear adventurism and will be to the best interests of peace.

The tradition to go against the opposing political winds with dedication and strong will will undoubtedly be continued at this summit as well. Especially now, at a time when Atlantism and its most extreme manifestations are endangering humanity's hopes for peace in the world.

Goodwill and the examination of modern life from the point of view of peace and awareness of the responsibilities have always been significant characteristics of the atmosphere of the supreme forums of the Warsaw Treaty no matter where these were held.

This will also be the case today, when the roads leading to the preservation of peace must be defended in a situation exasperated by imperialism. In this sense the Sofia forum will symbolize the most up-to-date point in the efforts of the leaders of the Warsaw Treaty Member-Countries to show the most adequate for our time ways to come out of the gravitational field of confrontation, to which world politics have been pushed by the force of imperialism.

It is no easy task to find and defend peace-loving solutions to the benefit of both social systems in a situation in which one of these--the Western, as represented by the U.S.--is aspiring towards a dictate backed by military forces. This has brought about the requirement for socialism to continue with its constructive efforts aimed at enforcing the peaceful variant of the development of international relations.

The forum in Sofia will demonstrate this.

It is quite natural to expect that the session will make highly efficient and applicable for the current situation contributions to the positive development of the East-West relations. These expectations are rooted in the current policies and initiatives of the Warsaw Treaty, in its mission of a defender of dialogue and negotiations as a means which cannot be substituted with the strength of weapons and the weapons of strength.

The Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Member-Countries will provide a continuation to all that the USSR and the socialist countries can do for the halting of the arms race and the putting up of barriers before the militarization of space. It will establish the conditions for a constructive and fruitful meeting in Geneva between Mr Mikhail Borbachev, secretary general of the CC of the CPSU, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan. The development of ideas and initiatives at the meeting of the leaders of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries in Sofia will undoubtedly be held in an atmosphere of realism and good intentions.

One thing, however, must not be expected from this session: The participants will never overlook or forget about Lenin's theory according to which the revolutions' duty is to defend themselves when the situation demands it.

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## BCP DAILY INTERVIEWS BRITISH LABOR FIGURES

AU311424 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 30 October on page 5 carries a 1,400-word article by Petur Bochukov, entitled "Against the Dangerous Language of Power." The article deals with "topical issues of disarmament, the anti-Soviet propaganda in Great Britain, the forthcoming USSR-U.S. summit in Geneva, and the policy of the Labor Party on questions of defense and security." The topics had been discussed at a meeting of Petur Bochukov with "Tony Benn, member of the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party." According to Bochukov "The three figures have been unanimous in their evaluation that Great Britain can and must play an active and positive role in stopping the arms race and removing the danger of a nuclear war."

Tony Benn is reported to have said that "leaders of the capitalist countries, realizing that the Soviet Union had strengthened, had helped Hitler to arm the German military machine and direct it toward the East." He thanks the Russians for "helping England to achieve its freedom," stressing that "as long as I live I shall repeat from every rostrum that my liberation from fascism is a result of the Russian blood which has been shed." He states that he "fears propaganda more than the missiles," and defines propaganda as "poison for the mind."

Denis Healey demands a "drastic reduction of the existing nuclear weapons as a precondition of banning the experiments and tests with chemical weapons." The points out that the new military programs "lead toward a destabilization of the existing nuclear parity." He expresses a "special concern" about the "star wars" program. In his opinion, the success of the Geneva summit depends on "whether the Americans will respond prudently" to the Soviet proposals.

James Mortimer expresses his "conviction that the USSR does not want to use its economic resources for a war." He accuses the United States of "striving for military superiority, speaking with the language of power, and constantly creating tension." He expresses his support of the USSR peace proposals, opposition to the "star wars" program, and support of disbanding both NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

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## DAILY ON LEADERSHIP STYLE AND METHODS

AU041709 [Editorial Report] Sovia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 1 November on page 4 carries a 3,500 interview with Professor Marko Markov, entitled "Heading From the Future Toward the Present," and conducted by Danka Vasileva. Asked about the personality of a leader, Markov distinguishes the aspects of "selecting and promoting a leader;" "training of cadres;" "methods and styles of action;" "the responsibility of leaders;" and "relations between leaders and those led by them." He demands a "style of thinking which understands the need for change in certain areas of life, when the necessary conditions emerge." He points out the need for effective leadership, and stresses the responsibility of leaders, stating that "recently the party has strongly underlined the danger of the corrupt use of power, and its strictness becomes greater, categorical, and sharp."

Dwelling on the control of leaders, Prof Markov emphasizes that "control should not be petty-minded guardianship, and exclude the right to independent decisionmaking on the part of the leaders." Prof Markov maintains that the control should take place "at the entrance and the exit," while whatever happens within the system itself "is the business of the leader himself." He dwells on the importance of the control organs' principle-minded activity, and recommends "punishing every attempt to manipulate data of any kind." In his opinion, leaders must be stimulated to take risks by outlining their final goals only, and letting them make important decisions themselves as to how the goals are to be attained. He requires "courage" from leaders and points out that "there are moments, when one must swim against the stream, and stand against public opinion."

In conclusion Prof Markov informs that the forthcoming 13th BCP Congress "will pose principled new [word indistinct], whose solution presupposes a perfection of management theory and practice."

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## BULGARIA

### ZHIVKOV ARTICLE COMMEMORATES INDIRA GANDHI

AU050937 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Oct 85 pp 1, 4

[Article by Todor Zhivkov, written especially for a memorial volume to be published in India: "She Lives on in the Peoples' Memory"]

[Text] I remember very well that October day in 1967 when Indira Gandhi visited Bulgaria for the first time. Naturally, we who were her hosts and came to welcome her knew her from her pictures taken at the time when she visited the Soviet Union, accompanying her father, J. Nehru, the great son of India. However, as soon as she came down from the aircraft, this frail and relatively young woman charmed us with her open-hearted, cordial, and fraternal [as published] smile. Later on, during our meetings and talks, we already formed our opinion of the woman who was leading India toward progress. These opinions were consolidated and confirmed. We did not doubt that we were facing a comrade-in-arms in our struggle for the people's and mankind's happiness, a human being with whom we could be friends. Today, however, when she is no longer among us, following the perfidious shot which put an end to her life, we are forced to draw a balance of her life and achievements, to see and worthily assess her greatness, and in so doing we Bulgarians remember her words with love. She said in talking about our relations: "There are friendships based on interest, but there are also friendships that are elevated above such pragmatic considerations. The Indian-Bulgarian friendship belongs to this second, loftier category. It is based on our striving to work not only for ourselves but for the sake of a long-desired goal--a peaceful world and a harmonious mankind."

Indira Gandhi never made a secret of his likes and dislikes. What she thought, what she sought, and what kind of world she strove for--this was known to her numerous friends as well as to her overt and secret enemies. The time during which Indira Gandhi led her country was complex and even more complicated by various contradictory actions and statements. The world was in turmoil. The world was changing radically. Two opposing trends were struggling against each other. With great demagoguery the adherents of the old world of colonialism and exploitation were waging a desperate struggle to stop and, if possible, to turn back the wheel of history which the Great October and, if possible, to turn back the wheel of history which the Great October Revolution in Russia had put into motion. Declared and undeclared



wars were taking place, a struggle for freedom, for social progress, and for peace in the world was being waged. At the same time imperialist ideologists, politicians, and diplomats were trying to deceive the peoples with their tales about a peace-loving spirit, good intentions, democracy, law and order. Indira Gandhi, however, found the correct path between words and deeds, she was capable of recognizing the true face of people and events, she knew how to distinguish between her people's enemies and friends, she stood unshakably at the side of those who were breaking the chains of an unjust world order.

Indira Gandhi's election as chairman of the Nonaligned Movement came as a recognition for India's role in the contemporary world. India is a country which has greatly contributed to the development of human civilization, a country with a tremendous intellectual culture, which within a brief historical period was able to overcome the centuries-old colonial backwardness and to become one of the leading states in the world in terms of industrial production and scientific-technological potential. India's prestige is beyond any doubt in the socialist countries and the developing states. Even those who are pursuing different goals are taking into consideration India's opinions on worldwide issues. India's role in the people's struggle for independence, for progress, and peace in the world are known even to those who are indifferent to world politics. It is by no means a coincidence that the "declaration of our continents," one of the great documents of our epoch calling on the states of the world to prevent a universal nuclear disaster, was signed in Delhi, the capital of India, and that it bears a signature known to the whole world, the signature of Indira Gandhi, the daughter, their [word indistinct] and successor of Nehru's great cause.

Truly amazing were the resolve and consistency with which Indira Gandhi from day to day, from month to month, and from year to year, used to fight for the goal of her life--to preserve the integrity of her country, to overcome the caste and religious prejudices and differences which divided her people, to overcome backwardness and poverty inherited from colonial slavery, and to transform India into an advanced industrial country so that it could take its worthy place among the first progressive countries of the world. What tremendous work she had to accomplish within a few years. What a clear goal she had to pursue throughout her entire life, how persistently and consistently she had to merge with the history of her motherland, so that the name of the woman and the name of the country would sound like two indivisible symbols! India and Indira--these two names are inseparable for contemporary mankind. They will remain inseparable despite the undoubted successes which the country will accomplish in the future and despite the fact that the memory of the woman's image will further recede as the years go by. The image will recede, but recede into the future, along the path of human progress, along the path on which the great Indian woman called Indira Gandhi led her people.

Indira's land of India has already received her ashes, and mankind wrote her name into the golden book of history. She knew that the path along which she

was leading India had sworn enemies, she knew that her life could be taken at any time by the deadly weapons of her foes, but she firmly believed that there is no hatred dark enough to obscure her love of her people and country, that there is no force strong enough to divert her from her aspirations and efforts to lead her country toward progress.

Her life and her physical death confirmed the correctness of her cause in which she believed to the end of her life.

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FURTHER MEASURES AGAINST USE OF DRUGS BY ATHLETES

AU311418 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Oct 85 p 6

[Text] The Editorial Board has received the following letter signed by Trendafil Martinski, chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Union on Physical Culture and Sport, and Boycho Shteryanov, chairman of the Bulgarian Track and Field Federation:

"The leadership of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Union on Physical Culture and Sport and the Bureau of the Bulgarian Track and Field Federation, at a joint meeting which took place on 22 October 1985, discussed in detail the improvident step of the national team athlete Lyudmila Andonova, and adopted an appropriate decision."

"...A full agreement was unanimously expressed with the entirely just criticism toward the Central Council of the Bulgarian Union on Physical Culture and Sport and the Bulgarian Track and Field Federation, included in the article "Unpardonable!" carried by RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 22 October 1985."

"The Bureau of the Bulgarian Track and Field Federation adopted broad measures related to the further activity in strengthening the struggle against the misuse of forbidden stimulants on the part of athletes, coaches, leaders, and figures of the track and field disciplines throughout the country."

"A meeting with the national teams of all ages will be held at which the decisions of the leadership of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Federation on Physical Culture and Sport and the Bureau of the Bulgarian Track and Field Federation will be explained. Komsomol meetings will discuss separate programs for the participation of Komsomol bureaus and organizations in the clarifying and educational work in this direction."

"The leadership of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Union on Physical Culture and Sport is preparing a full analysis not only for track and field, but also for other sports branches, of what has been done until now in the struggle against the misuse of forbidden stimulants, and for implementing the Law on People's Health and the decree of the Ministry of People's Health and the Central Council of the Bulgarian Union on Physical Culture and Sport from 29 August 1983. On the basis of the analysis, additional

measures will be taken to decisively stop similar violations in all sports branches and at all levels of the system of the Bulgarian Union on Physical Culture and Sport."

"The leadership of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Union on Physical Culture and Sport and the Bulgarian Track and Field Federation express their gratitude to the Editorial Board of RABOTNICHESKO DELO for the justifiable criticism, which will have a positive influence on our entire future work."

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CSO: 2200/34

BULGARIA

MAJOR FIRE HITS GASOLINE STORAGE TANKS

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Oct 85 p 4

[Article by Tsventan Tsekov: "Against the Elements"]

[Text] Have you noticed that misfortunes come at the worst times, either on a holiday, or at night, or some other time when people are not working?

The gasoline storage tanks caught on fire Saturday afternoon. The burning reservoir spewed fire like a crazed fountain. The flames licked at the neighboring, and full, tanks, and if it had succeeded in touching them, then much more would have perished, since they are less than a stone's throw from apartment houses.

Firefighters flew in from all over the place. Water flowed like a waterfall. But the flames would not be subdued. The water, mixed with gasoline, caught on fire and started flowing toward the full tanks.

Troops also arrived to help. The first to arrive was a group of 20 young road and bridge maintenance men. They had to dig a canal, to drain the area around the fire, which had become like a lake, and to cut off the fire's path. They were led by their Komsomol secretary, first lieutenant Ivan Stoyanov. He usually stayed with the detachment every Saturday and Sunday, in accordance with the unwritten rule that the political officer should stay with the troops when the other officers were not there.

They say that an officer's reserve guard is his family. But what kind of reserve can this be if it does not see him? You go home each evening as if to a hotel, with empty hands because the stores have all closed. But your very presence at home is something like a holiday for Donka and the children.

On this Saturday first lieutenant Stoyanov was about to leave at a decent time. Nothing connected with his service would have compelled him to turn toward the fire. Yes, but if you treat things only from the point of view of your job, nothing will come of it or of you.

The troops dug along with their Komsomol secretary. They kicked at the fire, and he did too. They were a few feet from death (if the unfortunate tanks exploded), and he was with them.

The firemen turned the streams of their hoses to the dancing fire, but they could see nothing on the other side. That was where the troops of first lieutenant Stoyanov and others who had come were. The water poured over them, the soot blackened their faces, the fire singed their clothes, their sleeves and caps. The Komsomol secretary did not escape this fate either.

The canal took shape, but the troops did not remain passive spectators. For a while only Stoyanov's troops remained in the burning water.

The decisive moment had come. Two firemen decided to hurl an asbestos blanket over the hatch of the burning reservoir. The two of them started out and while they were climbing up there, a little person climbed up and slipped between them on this "bomb" of tremendous tonnage. But it did not explode, and this gave the little person, private Dimitrov, the right to say "I am little, but look at me! Look at me! A person is large or small according to his character, according to his behavior."

Here he is, the boisterous soldier, who was reprimanded rather often. Now he does not spare himself, makes no mistakes, it seems he is in the thick of the battle, and he has to save the tank himself, and the apartment houses too. All of them at once.

First lieutenant Stoyanov sees them.

Here is a soldier who did not have a matriculation certificate, and he told only his Komsomol secretary about it. Now he has gotten his matriculation, and he has become a better soldier.

Here we have a company of soldiers still learning; after some convulsions, they are liquidating their violations.

Here we have a company of road and bridge maintenance men, the leading one for several months.

This company, and two others, will be formed later, but here are their first sprouts, including Captain Stefanov, Captain Filipov, and other officers. First lieutenant Stoyanov shares everything with them, is complemented by each of them, relies on each of them.

After who knows how many hours, late at night, the fire's back is broken, and Stoyanov's groups lined up to leave. They left, wet to the bone, in soot up to their eyes, shoes and clothes singed, hungry, tired, shivering, but smiling joyfully in their hearts, with a joy born only of a good deed, something well done.

The young men washed, changed their clothes, and shone. They went to bed, but they could not close their eyes for a long time, because of the joy they felt about their first true, meritorious job.

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CSO: 2200/24

## BRIEFS

PDRY'S 'ALI NASIR MUHAMMAD CABLES ZHIVKOV--Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, has received a telegram of gratitude by 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, general secretary of the Yemeni Socialist Party Central Committee and chairman of the PDRY Supreme Council Presidium, on the occasion of the congratulations addressed to him by Todor Zhivkov in connection with his re-election to the post of General Secretary of the Yemeni Socialist Party Central Committee. The telegram expresses confidence that bilateral relations will continue to develop in the interest of the common struggle for the cause of social progress, socialism, and peace. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 31 Oct 85 p 1 AU] /6662

EHTIOPIAN LEADERS GREET ZHIVKOV--In flying over our country's territory Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Ethiopia and chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council, as well as commander in chief of the Revolutionary Army of Ethiopia, sent a telegram from on board his aircraft to Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, conveying the most cordial greetings. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Nov 85 p 1 AU] /6662

ZHIVKOV GREETs ALGERIAN PRESIDENT--Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, sent a telegram to Chadli Bendjedid, president of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, and general secretary of the National Liberation Front, on the occasion of the national holiday of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria--the 31st anniversary of the beginning of armed revolution. The telegram conveys most sincere congratulations and cordial wishes for the well-being and prosperity of the country, as well as for new successes in its construction. The telegram expresses confidence that the relations of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, between the BCP and the National Liberation Front will continue to strengthen and expand to the benefit of the peoples in both countries, to the benefit of the cause of peace, international security, and cooperation among peoples. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Nov 85 p 1 AU] /6662

YEMENI SOCIALIST PARTY VISITOR--On 4 November Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary met 'Abd al-Ghani 'Abd al-Qadir, member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary of the Socialist Party of Yemen, who made a short visit to Bulgaria. In a cordial and friendly atmosphere Comrade Dimitur Stanishev briefed the guest on the activity of the Bulgarian communists and the entire people in constructing the developed socialist society. Comrade 'Abd al-Ghani 'Abd al-Qadir informed on the results of the Third Congress of the Socialist Party of Yemen, which was held recently, which determined the main task of the further development of the DPRY along the road of socialist orientation. Opinions were exchanged on a number of topical issues related to the international communist and workers' movement and the world situation. The total unity of the two parties' positions was noted on all issues discussed. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 4 Nov 85 AU] /6662

WARSAW POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE--Sofia, October 23 (BTA)--The session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty-member states ended today at the Boyana residence. At the final meeting, chaired by Mr Janos Kadar, secretary general of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the member-countries signed a declaration "for removing the nuclear threat and for a positive turnaround in the situation in Europe and the world." The declaration was consecutively signed by the heads of the delegations: Of the People's Republic of Bulgaria--Mr Todor Zhivkov; of the German Democratic Republic--Mr Erich Honecker; of the Polish People's Republic--Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski; of the Socialist Republic of Romania--Mr Nicolae Ceausescu; of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics--Mr Mikhail Gorbachev; of the Hungarian People's Republic--Mr Janos Kadar; and of the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic--Dr Gustav Husak. The member countries adopted a communique on the session. The session took place in an atmosphere of friendship and fraternal cooperation. It manifested the unity of views of the Warsaw Treaty-member states on the issues of European and world politics discussed at the session. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1134 GMT 23 Oct 85 AU] /6662

PLIGHT OF TURKS IN BULGARIA--The World Islamic Congress [WIC] has called on UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar to adopt a stand compatible with the seriousness of the plight of Turks living in Bulgaria. In its message, the WIC, headquartered in Karachi, Pakistan, recalls that the Turks in Bulgaria are subjected to a systematic assimilation process and expresses its great concern. The message also calls for the issue to be discussed by the UN Human Rights Committee. [Text] [Ankara Domestic Service in Turkish 1100 GMT 25 Oct 85 TA] /6662

CSO: 2200/34



BEJDA ON CHURCH-STATE TIES, VATICAN POLICY

AU051244 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 31 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by Vasil Bejda, head of the CPCZ Central Committee Agitation and Propaganda Department: "For a New Man"]

[Text] The fundamental aim not only of the educational efforts of our party and society, but of all their efforts, is to fashion a new man--a man who is a conscious citizen, a responsible socialist manager, a man who is highly educated and culturally advanced and, whose needs are not limited just to material requirements. To the enemies of communism, these our efforts are "worthy" only of sullyng socialism; they have become a target of slanders and rigorous attacks. Our noble efforts are being presented as an idle utopia. On the other hand, all the relics of the past by which centuries of past societies, based on exploitation and oppression, struck deep roots in people's mentality and motivation--the "birth marks" of the past, to use the terminology of Karl Marx--are being called the basic and unchanging nature of man.

We fundamentally reject anti-human concepts that reduce the nature of man just to his animal instincts. We cannot become reconciled to the vision according to which everything that formed (or, to be more precise, deformed) man in the long period of the rule of exploitative socioeconomic formations constitutes man's nature and a permanent human value.

The positive aim that we set ourselves in educational work is to gradually overcome man's negative features rooted in his orientation toward private ownership. We know very well that this is a long-term affair that cannot be resolved by means of a single, one-off campaign, let alone by measures that would rely on the force of administrative steps. What is crucial is the assimilation of ideological and moral values by which man's mode of thinking, motives, and, above all, practical deeds, party ways with the heritage that was handed down to us by the pre-revolutionary past. We have every reason to be optimistic in this respect.

The Process of Secularization Is Making Headway

The period that has passed since the socialist revolution is extraordinarily short viewed from a historical perspective; it is only a fraction of the time

which capitalism required to become consolidated. In defiance of this, we have achieved remarkable results in overcoming one of the absolutely deepest and most tencious legacies of the past. This legacy was born out of the powerlessness of the man of the primitive society in the face of natural forces and was reproduced by all subsequent exploitative social formations. We have not only overcome once and for all religious obscurantism and bigoted excesses such as were permanently reproduced in Slovakia and in parts of Moravia, which in itself is very encouraging and represents an important success. What is even more important, however, is the multiple increase in the share of those citizens on our country who not only no longer believe in the world of the supranatural but who consciously, out of their own profound inner conviction and on the basis of their own knowledge, identify with the scientific-consistently atheistic world outlook.

There is sufficient evidence to confirm this assertion. For example, the process of secularization in Czechoslovakia in the 1946-80 period was characterized by a marked decline in the number of religiously oriented people: In the Czech Socialist Republic [CSR] their share declined from about 80 to 30 percent and in the Slovak Socialist Republic [SSR] from 95 to 50 percent. Although the rate of this decline has slowed down slightly in the eighties, it is still remarkable that the so-called external religiousness has decreased almost 25 percent in the CSR and 23 percent in Slovakia over the past decade. Most churches and religious societies are thus registering a permanent shrinkage of their base. According to the latest sociological research carried out this year, the process of secularization has progressed so far that only roughly one-fifth of the CSSR population believes in God. At the same time, the faith of 58 percent of these people is only partial, being limited more-or-less just to the legend about the "creation" of the world and with God being equated with nature. It is therefore not surprising that, according to the aforementioned sociological survey, only 12 percent of the Czechoslovak population regularly takes part in services and a similarly low number engages in regular prayer. (Although these are orientational data, they basically convey the real situation, as is confirmed by experiences from long-term sociological surveys.)

We are encountering all kinds of obstacles in the struggle that we wage for the social and spiritual liberation of man. In their struggle against progress and peace, the most reactionary forces of imperialism more and more frequently misuse the church not only as a mainstay of the obsolete structures of the old way of thinking, but, above all, as an instrument of creating illusion, raising pseudo-problems, and obfuscating genuine problems. It is precisely religion which, being a perverted, fanciful mirror of the world that intensifies man's feeling of powerlessness and hallows the inequitable social order, is a suitable instrument for this.

The communists' attitude toward believers, religion, and the churches organically ensues from their program of the comprehensive liberation of man; that is why they regard a patient and sensitive atheistic influence as an important way toward the spiritual liberation of the working people. It is precisely religious ideas that represent a barrier preventing them from coming

to a full understanding of the realities of the present world but also from pursuing their own class interests and the possibilities and ways of implementing them.

That which is being repeatedly ascribed to communists, namely, that they artificially divide society, is in reality an ancient aim and method of the reactionaries. It is react on that attempts to erect artificial barriers out of the differences in the attitudes of the working masses toward religion. Its motives for acting in this way are particularly urgent today. The crisis of the bourgeois ideology has reached a state at which "rational" argument prove to be more and more ineffective. Banking on misusing the religious feelings of the people is one of the few hopes left for the protagonists of the capital in this situation. But there is also another motive: To give the present policy of imperialism the thing in which it is most deficient--"moral credit." What is involved, in other words, is an attempt to give moral credit to the policy of recklessly playing hazardous games with the fate of all mankind.

#### Designs of Clericalist Anticommunism

Washington's "crusade" enhances its interest in cooperation with conservative church circles. Quite logically, a paramount place in these plans has been assigned to the Vatican, whose policy is based on two traditions formed over the centuries. The first tradition was, and is, based on the ability to adapt to the realities of a changing world. It is owing to this ability that Catholicism has managed so many times to maintain its positions and influence, even though history doomed its socioeconomic mainstays to extinction. A symbol of the second Vatican tradition are precisely "crusades," whose creed and suggestive rhetoric have repeatedly inspired 20th century reactionaries. Religion, which proclaims conciliation and toleration, has been spread by fire and sword. "Holy inquisition," the exact opposite of Christian love, has always made its appearance on the stage when, and where, the death bell began to toll for the old system.

In its present ambition to be the "third political force in the world," the Vatican fully focuses on the escalation of anticommunism. Where are the times of the sixties and early seventies when the trend toward adaptation [adaptace] prevailed in the policy of the Vatican! A whole number of the positions which the Catholic hierarchy assumed at that time--positions in the defense of peace and a constructive dialogue between all its advocates, between the forces of democracy and humanism--were rightly appreciated also by the revolutionary workers movement. Today, human civilization and life are in greater jeopardy than ever before. International detente has been replaced by sharp confrontation, which is being incited by the militarist circles of imperialism. Which side has been taken by the Vatican in this fateful moment? Does it perhaps carry on the work that is symbolized by the papal encyclical "Pacem in Terris," [Peace on Earth] which calls for the unification of all forces of peace against the main threat to mankind--against war? The facts do not suggest this. On the contrary, they furnish ever new evidence to the effect

that the opposite tendencies are growing in strength, tendencies which, moreover, are not overly fastidious in the chosen methods of struggle.

The falsification of undeniable facts about the freedom of religious belief in Czechoslovakia, for example, is among the standard methods used not only by clericalist anticommunism, but by other anticommunist centers as well. Their demagoguery is based chiefly on two arbitrary fabrications. The first of these fabrications completely distorts our programmatic target that the social liberation of man should also result in his spiritual liberation. The precondition for a truly harmonious development of the personality is its liberation from everything stemming from the exploitative past that can still survive in people's minds. The acquisition of knowledge about nature, social development, and one's own place in today's "sinfil" (that is, class-divided) world depends on the gradual, very patient, and sensitive overcoming of religious concepts.

Precisely this educational influence exerted by us, which is highly noble in terms of its contents and methods, is presented by the clericalist reaction as a "mortal sin." At the same time, it "modestly" forgets all about its own totalitarian diktat, by means of which it has for centuries been imposing [on others] its own "right faith," showing no signs of conciliation or toleration. Somehow, it rapidly forgot the flames of auto-da-fe, in which thousands of those were burnt who did not become reconciled to the denial of their inalienable right to freely express their own ideas.

Fully in keeping with the plans being pursued by imperialist reaction today is also the other aim of clericalist anticommunism: to find in the Catholic Church a force that might potentially become the political platform of antisocialist opposition. This is because the original plans, which associated this aim with the isolated handful of so-called dissidents, visibly foundered. That is why the possibility is now being included in the calculations of involving the legally existing Catholic Church in operations aimed at weakening and destabilizing socialism.

However, these plans are not coming off and do not have the least chance of succeeding. Our people, including the overwhelming majority of believers, have had enough bitter experiences with "political pluralism." Even in the bourgeois Czechoslovak Republic the political tug-of-war among dozens of various parties--including the clerical parties--was only a transparent cloak for the dictatorship of monopolies and the ubiquitous discrimination of the working people. Also the "political pluralism" that began to arise in the late sixties, through activities of right-wing and counterrevolutionary forces, led to disruption and to the endangerment of the very foundations of socialism. The licentiousness of enemies who silenced every consistent defender of the vital interests of our people was gaining ground under slogans about "democracy." A not-insignificant role among reactionary groups of those days was played also by the so-called work of Conciliar Renewal, which made no secret at all of its political clericalism and militant anticommunism.

Forces that have not given up plans for the restoration of political clericalism cannot count on finding a common language with us. In the political system of our socialist society, everyone who endorses the program of building a socially equitable society has the broadest possibilities to assert himself. The national front, which is the political association of all classes and social groups, of all peoples and ethnic minorities living in the CSSR, is an incomparably broader platform and a more democratic mechanism than any coalition of bourgeois or reformist parties in the West. It associates not only all Czechoslovak political parties, but also the trade unions, the mass social organizations of women and young people, as well as various special-interest organizations of citizens. This makes it possible to unite the legitimate interests and requirements of all social, national, professional, age, educational, and other groups of our populace. The program of developing the whole of our homeland as well as all its individual regions, towns, and villages, a program that is born out of democratic discussions on the broad platform of the national front, also enjoys the active support of the great majority of our believing fellow citizens.

If there are any individuals who have no intention of endorsing this progressive program, then only they themselves are to blame for their setbacks and frustrations. Or should we perhaps "legalize" the conduct of those who make no secret of their hostility toward the revolutionary accomplishments of our people? Should we perhaps seek the favor of the bourgeois press even at the cost of dismantling all that for which whole generations of revolutionaries and progressive thinkers had fought? Such "democracy" would be an embarrassing caricature of the genuine rule of the people, endangering that which is the innermost interest and unequivocal will of the working people.

#### It Depends on the Churches Themselves

It does not follow at all from this unshakeable position held by us that the legal activity of churches and religious societies is being restricted in any way, as the enemies of socialism are trying to interpret the situation. Their activity and the possibilities of their operation depend on a single prerequisite. Even under the conditions of socialism, they must display that ability to adapt that was the norm and a matter-of-course for them in all preceding socioeconomic formations. Just as any other organization or individual, they must maintain a loyal attitude to our socialist system and respect all its laws. At the same time, we on no account demand servility of clergymen, to which they have often been compelled and are still being compelled today in some places by the ruling circles of countries with an exploitative system. We do not demand in the least that they take part in spreading the ruling ideology in our society, that they disseminate the scientific world outlook against their own conviction. This is our principled position and not some sort of sly tactics. And because we do not consider religion as such to be such an obstacle to our socialist development that no forward movement is possible without overcoming it, we do not have any reason to persecute the churches, either. As was shown by the aforementioned sociological survey, some believers have a more positive attitude toward socialism than atheists with petit bourgeois leanings. For us this is a very

interesting finding. Is it not worth a thought by churches as well? It logically follows from their right to exist under socialism that they do not have to be a foreign element in a state that is heading for a socially equitable socialist and community society. It depends on the churches themselves what kind of "fate" they choose: Either they will direct their activity in keeping with the needs and interests of the new society and thereby uphold their right to exist in it, or they will direct their activity against society and thereby become themselves alienated from our national community. Because, and this must be stressed as well, we do not base the stability and the building of our socialist society on churches, as was and still is the case in countries with a social system with antagonistic classes.

Ultimately, our attitude to the Catholic Church and its clergy is also illustrated by the existence and possibility to operate of the Pacem in Terris association of Catholic clergymen and by the support which it receives from the socialist state. As is indicated by its very name, which was taken over from the aforementioned encyclical of John 23d, the aim of this organization is, above all, to support peace efforts and to speak out against the incitement and preparation of a new world war. At the same time, Pacem in Terris does not discourage believers from becoming actively involved in embellishing our common homeland. Which of these activities runs counter to Christian ethics and values?

The sallies against the Pacem in Terris association have a purely political and not a religious background. The activity of this organization is a thorn in the side precisely because it is one of the obstacles thwarting the attempts at turning the Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia into a political force that would act as an antisocialist opposition, as a toy and an instrument in the hands of foreign reaction.

#### Characteristic Pretence

This year's 1,100th anniversary of the death of Methodius, one of the brothers from Salonika who significantly contributed to the spiritual and cultural development of the great Moravian state formation on our territory in the ninth century, became a pretext for anti-Czechoslovak sallies. We see therein a characteristic pretence of the Vatican: Ever since 865 for long centuries, it regarded Methodius as a heretic and only in the Grande Mundus Circular of 1880, a full 1,000 years later, did the roman pope "remind the whole church of the personalities and apostolic zeal" of Cyril and Methodius and introduced their commemoration into divine services, and included them in the church calender. And it was only recently that the present pope declared them the "patron saints of Europe."

Running counter to historical truth is also the assertion that the brothers from Salonika brought Christianity to our land. Many archeological finds furnish evidence of its penetration at an earlier date. The true contribution of Cyril and Methodius was that they significantly promoted the development of our national statehood and culture as well as other Slavic cultures. This is the true source and contents of the tradition of Cyril and Methodius



venerated by our peoples. This tradition struck deep roots in their subconsciousness long before the Vatican "rehabilitated" Methodius. For entire historical era, this tradition was among the symbols of national and state identity, national language and culture, and Slavonic reciprocity, along with the Hussite revolutionary movement, whose ideological representatives from among the ranks of clergy are kept on the Vatican's blacklist to this very day.

The Catholic clergy, together with the aggressive Germanic and Hungarian gentry, as one of the arch enemies of the Czech and Slovak people's efforts for national emancipation. It took a very active part in the foreign hegemony over our peoples, which it zealously blessed from the pulpit. The jesuits' stakes, at which our books were burnt--including translations of the bible and other religious texts--have remained to this day in the eyes of our people a symbol of the "time of darkness," as the national revivalists of the 19th century used to call this unpropitious era.

Socialist Czechoslovakia identifies with popular, patriotic traditions, of which the memory of the mission of Cyril and Methodius is an integral part. The dignified commemorations of the Methodius jubilee were held with the full support and active participation of our state agencies and social organizations. That is why the story that Czechoslovak Communists shunned or even allegedly "feared" that event is malicious slander. The interpretation of the legacy of the brothers from Salonika is a different matter, however. The "topicalization of the Methodius legacy" as it is practiced nowadays by clericalist circles is sharply at variance with objective truth and thus also with the patriotic tradition that has retained its place in the subconsciousness of even our contemporary generations. What they [clericalists circles] present as the "living message of Methodius for the present" is some kind of a "call for the moral rebirth of the European civilization on Christian foundations." The purpose of this slogan is apparent. It is a call for a "rebirth" that would leave no place in Europe for "godless communism," as they maliciously caricature the working people's power. Although the wish is the father to the thought in this instance, we do not underestimate the attempts to assert the concept of so-called Christian Europe and the model of "Polish Catholicism," or the attempts to revive old or create new cults of saints, tendencies that are closely connected with the reinforcement of clericalist anticommunism and rabid nationalism.

The events in Poland in the past few years are one of the numerous examples of the "double yardsticks" being applied today to the attitude of the church toward politics. At the threshold of eighties when antisocialist opposition, controlled and financed by imperialist centers, made an attempt at a counter-revolutionary reversal, churches became one of its political tribunes. In many churches, hate-filled attacks against socialism, which turned Poland from a backward agrarian country into an industrially advanced country, and against the alliance with the Soviet Union, to which Poland is indebted for its peaceful present, freedom, and independence, have not ceased to this very day. Clericalist reaction is sowing fanatical hatred for everything that is incompatible with its political and religious program and for everyone who

refuses to identify with this program. Even the general of the Order of the Capuchins, who visited Poland last December, took exception to this. He noted with surprise that the Polish clergy is becoming detached from religious affairs in favor of political commitment. He made no secret of the fact that the attack from the pulpit on state agencies would not be tolerated even in countries that deem themselves to be more democratic than Poland.

The two strategies with which political clericalism reacts to changes in the world have one common denominator. It is the ancient alliance of political clericalism with the exploiting classes. Changes in the specific course of action and in the methods used are no independent quantity. For centuries--sometimes quite overtly at other times more-or-less covertly--they have been following the pattern of changes in the policy of the ruling exploiting classes. The seamy side of the halo with which the aims as well as the deeds of the bourgeoisie are being surrounded, just as previously the aims and deeds of feudal lords, is the feverish search for the humility and reconciliation with their own fate of those, from the sweat and blood of whom arise unearned profit and luxury. Political clericalism today still remains loyal to its mission, which has earned it the partnership with the rich and the powerful of the "secular world" as early as at the threshold of the Middle Ages.

We are fully aware of our mission and responsibility in this struggle. We will continue to enlist all our fellow citizens, including the believers, for the program of further building socialism. In the struggle for world peace and for halting the arms race, we will not stop trying to arrive at a deeper understanding and action unity with all anti-war forces, including thus the broadest possible religious public, religious activists, and clergymen. Thereby, we will considerably contribute to the efforts aimed at permitting the greatest possible number of believers to find their proper place in the struggle for the cardinal issues of the present.

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CSO: 2400/56



CZECHOSLOVAK- HUNGARIAN RELATIONS EVALUATED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Oct 85 p 2

[Article by Josef Nyvlt: "In the Interest of People of the CSSR and Hungary"]

[Text] The traditions of fraternal friendship of the CSSR and MLR [Hungarian People's Republic] are deeply rooted in the past. The international relations between the Czechoslovak and Hungarian workers and communist movements play a decisive role in their birth and development. A new important phase in their development took place in the postwar period, in the years of struggle for the instituting of people's power during socialist construction.

The discussions of the general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR President Gustav Husak with the general secretary of MSDS [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Janos Kadar which took place in comradely atmosphere in Prague on Monday, 30 September, again confirmed the high standard and intensity of Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations both on the party and state level.

The mutual relations practically implement the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, are based on mutual respect and trust, on the close comradely cooperation in all areas and significantly contribute to the implementation of the program of socialist construction in both countries.

Together with the appreciation of this level of mutual relations comrade Gustav Husak and Janos Kadar concurred that, in view of the tasks of future development of socialism in both countries and international situation, it was necessary to further expand and enrich the mutual relations and to provide them with the new stimuli.

In the expansion of relations between the CPCZ and MSDS, between Czechoslovakia and Hungary it is precisely the regular meetings of their representatives which play an important role.

In their discussion on Monday comrades Gustav Husak and Janos Kadar emphasized the fundamental significance of both countries' effort to accelerate the socioeconomic development, to increase the efficiency of planned management of the national economy and overall intensification of production. This joint effort aims at the more effective utilization of historic advantages of socialism, at the expansion of social achievements, at the consolidation of

social, ideological and humanistic values of the socialist society, at strengthening of the unity and coherency of socialist countries and political and economic positions of socialism in the world.

Like other fraternal socialist countries, Czechoslovakia and Hungary face tasks of historic importance. Their successful implementation depends to a large extent on the more effective utilization of the possibilities offered by the increased mutual cooperation of socialist countries. In this context comrades Gustav Husak and Janos Kadar spoke in favor of the consistent implementation of program goals set by the economic summit conference of CEMA member states in Moscow in June 1984. They emphasized particularly that they regarded the acceleration of scientific-technological development of countries of the socialist community by comprehensive measures as an urgent task.

Extraordinary attention was paid in these discussions to the expansion of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the CSSR and Hungary. Both representatives found positive results in the coordination of national economic plans for the 1986-1990 period which create the prerequisites for the further dynamic growth of commodity exchange. According to the agreement signed by the CSSR and MSR foreign trade ministers on Friday, the commodity exchange will reach the turnover of rubles 8.5 billion which presumes approximately a four percent annual increase.

Special emphasis was placed on finding and expanding particularly the higher forms of economic cooperation, on production cooperation and specialization which corresponds to the mutual interests.

In recent years, Czechoslovak and Hungarian experts gained valuable experiences from the mutual cooperation for example in the construction of the nuclear power plant at Paksa. The joint enterprise Haldex whose construction began a year ago will start trial operation next month.

An important project of Czechoslovak-Hungarian cooperation is the joint construction of the system of Gabcikovo-Nagymaros waterworks. Two hydroelectric power sectors of both countries, and the entire project will favorably affect also the 200 km section of the navigation on the Danube river.

During their meeting the highest representatives of the CSSR and MLR paid great attention to the contemporary situation in the world. They concurrently stated that for the present tension in the international relations are primarily responsible American imperialism and extremist NATO circles which are striving to disrupt the military strategic balance, to achieve military superiority and force the arms race upon the nations. In the face of increasing aggressiveness of imperialism they reemphasized the significance of the unity and sticking together of states of the socialist community and also their determination to actively participate within the Warsaw Pact in the joint effort of socialist countries to reduce the international tension, strengthen international security and promote the policy of lessening the tension in Europe and in the world. They jointly expressed the unequivocal support to the peace initiative of the Soviet Union, high appreciation of the decision on the unilateral moratorium for all tests of nuclear weapons as well as the proposal for

peaceful cooperation in the utilization of space. Concurrently with the opinion of realistic, peaceloving forces they described the prevention of space militarization as the categorical requirement of the present time.

As the communique at the conclusion of the friendly meeting stated, the discussions of comrades Gustav Husak and Janos Kadar confirmed the full unity of views on the issues discussed, contributed to the intensification of overall relations between the CPCZ and MSDS, CSSR and MLR. The results of the meeting of the highest representatives of both countries represent an important contribution to the further development and strengthening of Czechoslovak-Hungarian cooperation.

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CSO: 2400/23

## PARTY REGIONAL COMMITTEES CONFER

AU052024 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 1 November both carry on page 2 reports on the recent sessions of the party regional committees in the Czech lands and in Slovakia.

The 900-word RUDE PRAVO roundup of the reports, entitled "The Urgency of More Efficient Management," includes a "(jk)"-signed Brno dispatch on the session of the South Moravian regional committee--which reportedly dealt mostly with the situation in services to the population--notes: "Services to the citizens are provided in the region by 41 enterprises of local production and of services; by 59 production cooperatives; by 14 district construction enterprises; by 334 small workshops managed by the national committees; and by almost 6,000 citizens with licenses to provide services. Apart from them, the base is complemented by 237 agricultural enterprises with auxiliary productions and by certain centrally managed organizations. In 1982 the takings amounted to approximately Kcs 1,300 per citizen; today the figure is 1,500." The dispatch noted that Ladislav Adamec, CPCZ Central Committee member and Czech deputy premier who attended the session, spoke in the discussion, which "critically pointed out the noncomprehensive nature of certain services."

The "(ts)"-signed Prague dispatch included in the roundup deals with the session of the Central Bohemian regional committee, attended by Vlatimil Voboda, minister-chairman of the People's Control Committee in the Czech SR. It notes the strengthening authority of the national committees in the region; the significant results achieved in the development of services; and the establishment of 512 new operations managed by the national committees. Although the deliveries of products from service enterprises and production cooperatives have increased, the dispatch notes, their quality does not correspond to the consumers' demands and cannot be compared to similar goods abroad; likewise, the session is said to have criticized the state of the housing economy in the region.

The "(oz)"-signed Bratislava dispatch on the session of the West Slovak regional committee, attended by Michal Stefanak, CPCZ Central Committee department head, states that the session positively appraised the individual talks with every party member and candidate member, which brought many critical suggestions about order and discipline in work places and about the vestiges of traditional approaches (such as emphasis on successes, excuses for nonfulfillment of tasks). The session reportedly noted the continuing

problems and shortcomings which must be eliminated in party work, and heard an expose by M. Stefanak "on the international situation."

The 800-word PRAVDA roundup includes a Bratislava dispatch by Maria Slaninova on the session of the West Slovak regional committee, which is also said to have discussed the "successful ideo-political and cadre preparation of the annual members meetings"; noted that the assistance of party district committees to factory committees "was not sufficiently effective in all places"; and also "approved certain cadre changes: Ondrej Kvak was released from his functions as Secretariat member and secretary of the Slovak Communist Party (CPSL) Regional Committee and chairman of the committee's national economic commission, in connection with his being charged with other tasks. Stefan Mihalik was coopted as CPSL Regional Committee member and at the same time elected member of the Secretariat and secretary of the Regional Committee, and also chairman of its national economy commission." The dispatch also takes note of the expose on international issues by M. Stefanaka.

The unsigned Prague and Brno dispatches cover the same points as the RUDE PRAVO dispatches.

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CSO: 2400/56

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BILAK, FRG'S BRANDT TOUR BRATISLAVA SIGHTS

LD091828 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 9 Nov 85

[Excerpts] Willy Brandt, chairman of the Socialist Democratic Party of Germany and chairman of the Socialist International, who is visiting Czechoslovakia, went to Bratislava today where he and his delegation were received by Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee.

Later in the day, Willy Brandt, and Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and other representatives, toured the most modern housing development in Petralka, saw the latest transportation facility dominating the city--the Dukla Heroes Bridge--and an interesting architectural feature in Klement Gotwald Square. During his tour of the historical center of the city he visited the birthplace museum of the famous composer, Jan Nepomuk Hummel, and the historical pharmaceutical museum, the only one of its kind in Czechoslovakia.

Jozef Lenart gave a festive lunch in Willy Brandt's honor. It was attended by members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Vasil Bilak, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and Slovak Premier Peter Colotka, and other representatives. Afterwards Willy Brandt and Vasil Bilak left Bratislava for Prague.

/9599

CSO: 2400/56

## CSSR VIEW OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS INITIATIVE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Sep 85 p 7

[Text] The governments of the CSSR and the GDR have proposed to the government of the FRG the commencement of negotiations concerning the creation of a zone free of chemical weapons in Europe. To put it more precisely, this zone would initially include the territories of the CSSR, GDR and FRG.

Chemical weapons have been classified as coming immediately after nuclear weapons as far as their risk value is concerned. Complete prohibition of them is already the subject of international talks. However, since these discussions have so far not produced any concrete results, the CSSR and the GDR have brought their proposal to the FRG. Thus they are turning to good account the talks on this subject that have ended between the SED and SPD and the fact that the international community is supporting the abolition of chemical weapons. The creation of a zone free of chemical weapons would be the first concrete step on the path to that goal.

The borders of the FRG, GDR and CSSR are at the same time the dividing line between two military and political establishments in Europe. Therefore they are very sensitive borders, where even the slightest deterioration or improvement in the international climate is detectable. The seventies also testify to this; this was the time when relations between the FRG and the socialist states were normalized and then the Helsinki conference on security and cooperation took place.

The socialist countries are aware of their share of the responsibility for development on our continent, and for this reason even after the Helsinki conference they have come forward with further proposals for improving the climate and continuing the politics of easing tensions. They are all components of the central focus of their border politics--ideas concerning the peaceful coexistence of nations with different social systems. Peaceful coexistence presupposes the mutual desire to discuss all contestable problems, and armaments is uncontestably one of them. The stipulations of the Act of Helsinki, to which the CSSR, GDR, and FRG subscribed declare that the social "interest of all is striving toward a lowering of the risk of military confrontation and supporting disarmament, the goal of which is the relaxing of political tensions in Europe and the strengthening of security." For this reason socialist states are making the maintaining and strengthening of peace a priority. They are submitting appropriate proposals along these lines and are prepared to examine each proposal put forward by another country with great care.

The proposal for the creation of a zone free of chemical weapons, just like the proposals for the creation of a nuclear free zone, is a step toward a Europe and a world without war. Concerning this complex and at the same time sensitive question of the safety of nations it is necessary to seek paths toward this common goal. The discussions that were proposed to the government of the FRG could become one such path.

The first responses from abroad show that the initiative of the CSSR and the GDR was received with sympathy and understanding in those political circles that are realistically considering it. It is not to the liking of those, and this is especially true in neighboring FRG, who are intent on building up rather than decreasing armaments. According to West German sources of communication the chancellor of the FRG, H. Kohl, welcomed the proposal for the creation of a zone free of chemical weapons, but added that his government is interested above all in a universal banning of chemical weapons, a subject which has been under discussion for years at Geneva.

Czechoslovakia and the GDR in putting forward their proposal were motivated by the desire to help move forward, at least by a small step, discussions about disarmament. Both nations are at the same time prepared to consider concrete ideas from the government of the FRG for a zone free of chemical weapons and they start from the position that a prospective agreement about establishing this zone would be open to the participation of all other interested states.

The idea of abolishing chemical weapons is so momentous that it is necessary to approach it responsibly and to respect the principles of equal security for all. The attainment of the first concrete result would be of great service--the creation of a zone free of chemical weapons would undoubtedly follow upon it.

12313/12766

CSO: 2400/603



## BRIEFS

NEW SLOVAK YOUTH OFFICIAL--The session of the Slovak Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union [SCCSYU], which was held in Bratislava on 16 October, "released" Anna Krausova from the post of secretary of the SCCSYU and elected Augustin Cisar into the vacant post. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Oct 85 p 2 AU] /9599

CONFERENCE ON CSSR TRUCKS--China: A 3-day Czechoslovak-Chinese conference on Tatra trucks ended today in the east Chinese port of Tianjin. Its aim was to acquaint the most important customers of the Tatra 815 vehicles with the present state of technical development and its prospects, to talk about experiences of the use of Tatras in China and to jointly look for ways of further deepening cooperation. The conference showed that such meetings deepen the customers' trust in Czechoslovak products. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 8 Nov 85] /9599

NEW THOUSAND CROWN BILL--According to a communication from the Federal Ministry of Finance and the Czechoslovak state bank a new Czechoslovakian bill with a value of Kcs 1000 will be put into circulation on the first of October of this year. The issuing of this bill will bring about a reduction of all social costs connected with the handling of money for the general population and individual parts of the national economy, and for the costs of the printing of the bills. The banknote is dark blue in color. On the face of the bill is a portrait of Bedrich Smetana, on the reverse side is ancient Vysehrad. The bill is 67 mm wide and 157 mm long. The wording on the bill is in Czech. The designer of the creative proposal for the bill is our national artist Albin Brunovsky. Milos Ondracek produced the engraving on the face of the bill and Bohumil Sneider the one on the reverse side. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Sep 85 p 2] 12313/12766

CSO: 2400/603

## LITTLE CENSORING OF WESTERN MATERIALS, SAMIZDAT DESCRIBED

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 20 Oct 85 p 23

[Article by Heikki Hellman: "Uncensored"]

[Text] Yugoslav writer Danilo Kis mentions something that happened to him.

During the period when Solidarity was prohibited, he received a letter from Poland on which the word "Uncensored" was stamped. What can such a stamp mean, he wondered.

Does it mean that censorship is selective? That it picks only a portion of the letters for inspection, while the others move forward unhindered and receive the stamp "Uncensored"?

Or has the letter been chosen for reading, but because there was nothing in it to expurgate, it has been stamped to that effect?

Or is it only a reminder that a bugbear, who rarely says anything about himself, nevertheless exists and keeps watch on you and your friends?

\* \* \*

It is not easy to find the top storey of the Budapest villa. The main entrance is closed with padlock and chain, but a small entranceway is open. It is still necessary to walk through an overgrown garden and find the right door. There are blackbirds everywhere.

The two lowermost storeys are being repaired. Workmen make a racket: they are tearing out and patching up walls and floors. Paint cans and lumber are conspicuous. It seems as if the people living in the house had been evicted and those on the top storey were still awaiting their turn. Isn't the stairway tottery?

Roughly a hundred people are jammed into the flat. In the crowd are 20 or so authors, most of them Hungarians. The rest are Western journalists, but also present are a few members of delegations which have arrived for the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] cultural forum: from Sweden, the United States, West Germany.

We are at the CSCE cultural forum's "shadow conference" arranged by the members of the Helsinki group.

The emporium of aromas is open. No, I do not mean the perfume department but rather the tobacco shop: a mild Marlboro, a robust Russian-type cigarette, a pungent Balkan, sweet pipesmoke, and a splendid cigar.

It is at the same time an emporium of languages. The murmur of various European tongues blends and overlaps: Hungarian, Romanian, Czech, German, French, Swedish. And a lot of broken English.

The situation seems to verify what Susan Sontag says in her report heard later on: the future of European culture is in the multiplicity of its voices. No matter which country on his small continent a European goes to, he meets foreigners. Europe is a continent of foreigners.

The murmur grows more intense and the room becomes more and more crowded until Per Westberg bangs a red-wine bottle on the table, asks for silence, and invites everyone to sit on the floor. The literary seminar for the discussion of the writer's integrity can continue.

No one is censored at the seminar. Somebody makes some harsh remarks which--one would guess--are not easily permitted in Hungary's official public life. But generally speaking the seminar is, more than anything else, intellectual and literary in its tone. The closest point of comparison could be the writers' conference in Lahti. The only items lacking here are the political debates so characteristic of Lahti, at least in years past.

In this respect, the seminar is not many-voiced.

\* \* \*

An exhibit of books is arranged in one corner of the flat. Local samizdat editions are on display.

Two works by George Orwell, "Ezerkilencszaznyolcvannegy" and "Allati gazdasag," most quickly catch the eye. The former is "1984," the latter "Animal Farm." But there are others in the group: Gyorgy Konrad's latest work, Arthur Koestler's "Darkness at Noon," a book about the Hungarian historian Bibó, who was a minister in Imre Nagy's ill-fated government of 1956, and some political pamphlets. Most of the writers' names are, of course, unfamiliar.

There are many samizdat publishers in Hungary, but here is the output of just two, ABC and Magyar October. The latter's name does not by any means refer to the great October [Revolution of 1917] but to the Hungarian October of 1956.

One publisher mentions that the number of books printed varies from a few hundred to as many as a few thousand. Photocopying suffices for the small quantities, but the large printings are done after-hours in regular printing plants.



#### Samizdat literature at a writers' conference in Budapest

The books of ABC and Magyar October are circulated mainly through personal contacts. At one time they were sold in a certain dwelling every Wednesday from 8 to 10 o'clock, but the bookstore was forced to close. "The authorities did not really like it," I am told.

The samizdat books look almost genuine, although the printing impression is often sloppier than in official books and the set type is generally made on a typewriter. But after the title page--without exception--are found correct data on the original work and even on the Hungarian translator and the local publisher.

Underground publishers disclose their names and addresses, too, in their books!

Even though the authorities do not officially sanction samizdat literature, they nevertheless allow it to be published rather freely. Samizdat literature is not censored.

\* \* \*

West German author Hans-Magnus Enzensberger sits on the floor in the front row. His reportage on Hungary appeared last spring in the Hamburg newspaper DIE ZEIT. He has written several reportages on countries, the previous one on Norway. I ask him about the Hungarian fate of his work.

"It has been published in Hungary only as samizdat," he states, "and I am proud of that."

Why could it not be published through official channels?

"That alternative is utterly out of the question. I visited a party newspaper, among other things, and wrote some pretty nasty stuff about it and its people."

Enzensberger points out that for a while in the late 1960s he was patronized in Hungary. An entire volume of his poetry was published as well as a story which dealt with Cuba's attempt at counterrevolution. Now his name is somewhat suspicious and puts publishing house editors--those who are conscious of their responsibilities--on the defensive.

"As a matter of fact, there are two translations of my reportage on Hungary. The first one was done by the authorities," he continues, "but it was probably circulated in a very limited circle."

In short, a kind of official samizdat.

\* \* \*

The coalition of Helsinki groups operating in different countries received an exceptionally large amount of publicity for its literary seminar. At one stage it seemed as if the entire Western press was sitting and observing the shadow conference instead of the official conference.

The affair was directly aided by the decision of Hungarian authorities to refuse the seminar public accommodations. When the secretary of the U.S.'s Helsinki group forbade the taking of photographs during the seminar, he expressed himself somewhat sanctimoniously: "We have not come here to hold a press conference but a literary seminar!"

The majority of those present were journalists.

Whom were the authorities protecting by their decision to refuse accommodations? Maybe their own citizens from getting entangled in a suspicious seminar. It was not worthwhile for them to be concerned about foreign news media. But in reality, by allowing the seminar to continue, the authorities showed that they were not censoring it. "Uncensored" was not stamped directly on the envelope. On the other hand, they acted just as they did in the case of samizdat publishers: the names and addresses are in the books, but the books' covers are closed. The activity is permitted to continue.

\* \* \*

The cabdriver who arrives at the entrance is raging mad. He is forced to back up his Wartburg since there is nowhere to turn around on the sharp slope of the dead-end street.

"This is the third time today already to the same address," he curses in German.  
"And every time the riders have been well-dressed people who reek of wine.

"Some people live la dolce vita, while others do the dirty work."

12327

CS0: 3617/21

CANDIDATE SEES NEED TO REFINE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No. 31, 3 Aug 85 p 3

[Interview with Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki, vice chairman of the Sejm Legislative Commission by R. Cz.: "Heritage of the Present Term: Refining the Law"]

[Excerpts] In a few weeks, the 8th Sejm will have become another chapter in the history of our parliament and in a few months the 9th Sejm will begin its reign. What tasks await the deputies that will be holding office by then? What will they inherit from the current Sejm? We presented these questions to various deputies and we will be publishing their replies in coming issues of PRAWO I ZYCIE.

Today's discussion was with the vice-chairman of the Legislative Committee, Dr Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki.

[Question] Since it can be said that the present Sejm is one that has created new law, are you not afraid that the coming Sejm will only be known as one that refined the work done by others?

[Answer] We are always working to refine law! The only problem is the extent to which we must refine them because of genetic defects and therefore the defects that existed at the moment a law was created or whether we refine the laws because we need to adapt them to the dynamics of social change. That is a problem that must be considered. In my opinion, our social relations are presently undergoing many changes. This will undoubtedly make it necessary to refine our laws but I don't feel that the field of action in this area is too large.

[Question] Despite the large number of new laws, do you feel that there are still some problems that should be regulated by legal acts of this rank?

[Answer] Yes indeed. We need a bill on limiting the creation of new laws. If we had such a law, we could seriously slow down the legislative impetus of many of our partners in this process. We look at the work of the Sejm and forget that the large number of its bills has decreased the enormous amount of less important bills.

PARTY ACTIVITIES CALENDAR, 2-15 SEPTEMBER 85

Warsaw ZYCIE PART II in Polish No 20, 25 Sep 85 p 21

[Unattributed article: "Party Chronicle, 2-15 September 1985"]

[Text] Sessions of the Politburo of the Central Committee

10 September. The Politburo:

--was briefed on the progress of the closing stage of harvesting and preparations for the fall agricultural work;

--reviewed the state of preparations for the new academic year. The Politburo appealed to the academic community for vigorous and creative participation in preparations for the plenary meeting of the PZPR Control Committee at which improvements in the system of national education will be discussed;

--evaluated the fulfillment of the government program outlining the main directions and tasks of upbringing in the school system;

--was briefed on the preliminary results of the review of propriety of [new] apartments' allocation carried out by the IRCh [Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate].

Conferences and Meetings

2 September. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the national holiday of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, a festive concert was arranged by members of the Politburo, Secretary of the Central Committee Jozef Czyrek, First Secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee Marian Wozniak and Chairman of the CKKP [Central Commission of Party Control] Jerzy Urbanski. Topical speeches were made by Marian Wozniak and the Ambassador of Vietnam Nguyen Trong Thuat.

3 September. The Health Care Commission of the Central Committee discussed the issues of the status of health of the populace and the opportunities for meeting the most urgent needs of the health care service. The proceedings were chaired by the Politburo member Stanislaw Opalko. Head



of the Social and Legal Department of the Central Committee Janusz Kubasiewicz attended the proceedings.

--Outstanding artist Juliusz Krajewski was awarded the Order of the Banner of Labor I class by the Minister of Culture and Art Kazimierz Zygulski on the occasion of the artist's 80th birthday. Secretary of the Central Committee Waldemar Swirgon handed to the celebrator of the jubilee the congratulatory letter from First Secretary of the Central Committee, Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski.

4 September. On the occasion of the 95th birthday of the Marshal of Poland Michal Zymierski, First Secretary of the Central Committee, Prime Minister, head of the armed forces of the PRP, Gen. of Army Wojciech Jaruzelski paid a visit to the esteemed celebrator of the jubilee. On behalf of the Politburo and government, W. Jaruzelski conveyed the expressions of profound respect and the best birthday wishes to the Marshal of Poland. The First Secretary of the Central Committee was accompanied by members of the Politburo Secretary of the Central Committee Jozef Czyrek and Deputy Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner. Alternate Member of the Politburo, Minister of National Defense Gen. of Army Florian Siwicki also paid a visit to the Marshal of Poland on that date.

--Secretary of the Central Committee Professor Henryk Bednarski received the Presidium of the Main Board of the TWP [Association for the Propagation of Knowledge] headed by its Chairman Professor Janusz Gorski in conjunction with the forthcoming 9th National Congress of the TWP.

5 September. A meeting of Provincial Party Control Commissions chairmen with the participation of the CKKP Presidium was held in the headquarters of the Central Committee. The activities of provincial commissions and basic level party control commissions in the first half year were evaluated and directions were given for activities in the immediate future. Chairman of the CKKP Jerzy Urbanski presided over the proceedings.

--Meritorious activist of the workers movement, Builder of the People's Poland Stefan Bedkowski was received by the CKKP chairman Jerzy Urbanski and chairman of the Central Committee Team for the Meritorious Activists of the Workers' Movement Wladyslaw Honkisz on the occasion of the 75th birthday of the celebrator of the jubilee. S. Bedkowski was offered best wishes and congratulations.

--The Ideological Commission of the Central Committee discussed the outline of the PZPR program. The meeting was chaired by member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Jozef Czyrek. Secretary of the Central Committee Henryk Bednarski made the opening statement in the discussion. With regard to the next item on the agenda, Head of the Information Department of the Central Committee Jerzy Majka presented the goals and tasks of the newly set up Center for the Study of Policy and Propaganda of the ANS [Academy of Social Sciences]. The Ideological Commission was briefed about the strategy and tactics of the imperialist centers of subversion affecting Poland and their influence on the activity of our domestic opposition.

7 September. First Secretary of the PZPR, Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski visited the exhibition "Western and Northern Lands of Poland 922-1945" at the Royal Castle. Member of the Politburo, Secretary of the Central Committee Jozef Czyrek and Minister of Culture and Art Kazimierz Zygulski also attended.

9 September. A joint meeting of the presidia of central audit organs of the PZPR, ZSL and SD devoted to discussing the guidelines for the first stage of operation of the IRCh was held at the Central Committee Headquarters. The proceedings were co-chaired by the Chairman of the CKR [Central Audit Commission] of the PZPR Kazimierz Morawski, Chairman of the CKR of the ZSL Mieczyslaw Grabek and Chairman of the CKR of the SD Adam Langer.

--Secretary of the Central Committee Henryk Bednarski met the prizewinners of the competition "Relays of Friendship and Cooperation 1984-1985" in the headquarters of the Central Committee. The competition was organized by the Workers' Commission of the TPPR [Association of Polish-Soviet Friendship.] Head of the Ideological Department of the Central Committee Wladyslaw Loranc and Chairman of the Main Board of the TPPR Stanislaw Wronski took part in the meeting.

10 September. Alternate Politburo member, Secretary of the Central Committee Wlodzimierz Mokezyszczyk took part in the proceedings of the Congress of Delegates of the CZSS [Central Union of Food Producers' Cooperatives] SPOLEM.

A joint meeting of the lecturers of the PZPR Central Committee and the Main Committee of the ZSL devoted to the traditions and contemporary aspects of the union of workers and peasants. The meeting was chaired by the Head of the Ideological Department of the Central Committee Wladyslaw Loranc and the head of the Ideological Department of the Main Committee of the ZSL Jozef Czajkowski.

12 September. First Secretary of the Central Committee, Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski received a group of meritorious farmers, agricultural and foodstuffs industry employees which was several dozen strong. Secretary of the Central Committee Zbigniew Michalek, Head of the Agricultural Department of the Central Committee Stefan Zawodzinski and Minister of Agriculture and the Food Economy Stanislaw Zieba took part in the meeting.

--First Secretary of the Central Committee Wojciech Jaruzelski received alternate member of the Presidium, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia sojourning in Poland at the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee. Alternate Politburo member, Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Jan Glowczyk took part in the conversation.

--A conference of the first secretaries of PZPR college committees devoted to the discussion of tasks of PZPR college organizations in the new academic year was held under the chairmanship of Secretary of the Central

Committee Henryk Bednarski. Head of the Department of Science and Education of the Central Committee Bronislaw Ratus took part in the proceedings.

13 September. First Secretary of the Central Committee, Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski met with the members of the 2nd Brigade of Cuban Youth named after Carlos Roloff-Mialowski at the Electronics Enterprise named after M. Kasprzak. Member of the Politburo, First Secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee Marian Wozniak and Secretary of the Central Committee Waldemar Swirgon were also present.

--Member of the Politburo, Secretary of the Central Committee Jozef Czyrek received a delegation of the National Council of the National Front of the GDR sojourning in Poland at the invitation of the National Council of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth]. Ambassador of the GDR in Poland Horst Neubauer also took part in the talks.

14 September. Delegations of farmers, employees of the food industry and scientists involved in agricultural studies held a meeting at the Belweder [Palace] on the eve of the harvest celebration. During the meeting, the most meritorious were awarded high state decorations and honorary badges "Meritorious Farmer of the PRP." The decorations were handed out by First Secretary of the Central Committee, Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski, Chairman of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski and Chairman of the ZSL Main Committee Roman Malinowski.

15 September. A traditional harvest celebration was held in Glogowek, Opole Province. Members of highest party and state echelons took part in the holiday, including First Secretary of the Central Committee, Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski and Chairman of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski.

#### In the Party Organizations and Echelons

3 September. Member of the Politburo, Deputy Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner visited the FSO [Passenger Car Works] at Zeran, where he met with the economic and political leaders of the plant. The progress of development work at the FSO was discussed.

--Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met with the members of the Provincial PZPR Secretariat in Elblag. Current socio-economic issues of the region were discussed.

4 September. Politburo member, Secretary of the Central Committee Kazimierz Barcikowski running for the Sejm of the PRP on the national PRON ticket took part in a consultative meeting at the Police Chemical Works in the vicinity of Szczecin. On the same day, K. Barcikowski also participated in a consultative meeting in Stargard Szczecinski, the city of railroad workers.

--The provincial PZPR Committee in Bydgoszcz evaluated the socio-political situation in the region and outlined the tasks it entails for the party

echelons and organizations, especially with regard to the Sejm election campaign. Member of the Central Committee, Deputy Minister of the National Defense, Chief of the GZP WP [Pain Political Directorate of the Polish Armed Forces], Gen. of Arms Jozef Baryla participated in the proceedings.

5 September. Provincial PZPR Committees in Kalisz, Ostroleka, Siedlce and Sieradz discussed the tasks of party echelons and organizations with special emphasis on the Sejm electoral campaign.

--Alternate Politburo member, Minister of the Interior, Gen. of Arms Czeslaw Kiszczak, running for the Sejm of the PRP on the PEON national ticket took part in a consultative meeting in Konin.

6 September. Provincial PZPR committees in 20 provinces were in session. In accordance with the resolution of the 21st Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, the tasks of the party regarding the Sejm electoral campaign were discussed at these meetings. Plenary sessions of provincial committees were held in Biala Podlaska, Chelm, Ciechanow, Czestochowa, Elblag, Gorzow, Jelenia Gora, Katowice, Koszalin, Krakow, Krosno, Legnica, Lodz, Pila, Piotrkow Trybunalski, Poznan, Radom, Rzeszow, Skierniewice, Slupsk, Suwalki, Szczecin, Tarnobrzeg, Torun, Walbrzych, Warszawa, Zamosc and Zielona Gora.

Members of the Politburo and the PZPR Central Committee Secretariat took part in the proceedings of the following provincial committees:

- in Warsaw - Marian Wozniak and Albin Siwak'
- in Krakow - Hieronym Kubiak;
- in Katowice - Jerzy Romanik;
- in Krosno - Jan Glowczyk;
- in Leszno - Waldemar Swirgon;
- in Lodz - Tadeusz Czechowicz;
- in Poznan - Stanislaw Kalkus;
- in Radom - Zofia Grzyb;
- in Tarnobrzeg - Tadeusz Porebski.

--Alternate Politburo member, Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Wlodzimierz Mokrzyyszczak took part in the celebration of the Day of the Railway Workers organized in Wroclaw with the participation of representatives from all railroad districts as well as the pioneers of railroad development in the Lower Silesia and Opole region.

7 September. Further Provincial Committees of the PZPR were in session in Bielsko Biala, Gdansk, Lublin, Lomza, Olsztyn, Opole, Plock, Tarnow, Wloclawek and Wroclaw. The agenda consisted of evaluating the course of the Sejm election campaign to date and, in light of the latter, future tasks of party echelons and organizations.

Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski took part in the proceedings of Wroclaw Provincial Committee.

Under the leadership of Politburo member, First Secretary of the Tarnow Provincial Committee Stanislaw Opalko, the committee also evaluated the response of party echelons and organizations to the complaints, letters and requests of the populace. Politburo member Albin Siwak took part in the proceedings.

Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Henryk Bednarski took part in the proceedings of the Olsztyn Provincial Committee which also discussed the tasks of education.

The ideological indoctrination and civilian upbringing of young people was also discussed at the meeting of the Gdansk Provincial Committee which was chaired by alternate Politburo member, First Secretary of the Provincial Committee Stanislaw Bejger.

Head of the Department of Personnel Policy of the PZPR Central Committee Wladyslaw Honkisz took part in the segment of the plenary session of the Bielsko-Biala Provincial Committee devoted to the discussion of cadre policy in the province.

8 September. In Rzeczniew, Radom Province, an antiwar manifestation took place. Rzeczniew Gmina was decorated with the Grunwald Cross 3rd Class for outstanding valor displayed by its population in the struggle against the Hitlerite occupiers. Member of the Politburo Zofia Grzyb took part in the celebrations.

11 September. Provincial PZPR Committee in Konin evaluated the course of the Sejm election campaign to date and outlined the tasks for its next stage. The Konin Provincial Committee plenum ended a series of meetings of provincial committees. This meeting, as well as those held before, gave recommendations to the candidates who are PZPR members and expressed its support for deputy candidates who are not party members.

--Member of the Politburo, Deputy Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner met with the socio-political and economic leaders of Katowice province. Conditions for carrying out the socio-economic plans were discussed.

--Politburo member Albin Siwak took part in a meeting of trade unionists of the construction branch organized at the Poznan Construction Combine at Suchy Las.

13 September. A new year of party education in Lodz was inaugurated at the Textile Industry Enterprise named after the defenders of Peace. Alternate member of the Politburo, Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Jan Glowczyk took part in the inauguration.

The festive inauguration of the new year of party education in the armed forces of the PRP was held in the headquarters of the Pomeranian Military District. Deputy Minister of National Defense, Chief of the GZP WP Gen. of Arms Jozef Baryla took part in the inauguration.

--National inauguration of the Year of Adult Education 1985/1986 took place at the Metal Processing Industry Enterprise H. Gegielski in Poznan. Politburo member Stanislaw Kalkus and Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Henryk Bednarski were among the guests.

--Member of the Politburo, Secretary of the Central Committee Tadeusz Porebski paid a visit to the leaders of Sieradz Province. The current socio-political and economic situation of the region and issues related to the Sejm election campaign were discussed.

#### Interparty Cooperation

1-7 September. At the invitation of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, a study group of the PZPR Central Committee led by the Deputy Head of the Political-Organizational Department of the PZPR Central Committee Jan Bluszkowski sojourned in France. The delegation was received by member of the Politburo of the French Communist Party Pierre Blotin.

13 September. A parliamentary delegation of the PZPR led by member of the Politburo, Secretary of the Central Committee Kazimierz Barcikowski completed its 5-day visit in the FRG. The Polish delegation sojourned in the FRG at the invitation of the head of the SPD delegation to the Federal Parliament Hans Jochen Vogel. During his stay in the FRG, K. Barcikowski met with the head of the Communist Party of West Germany Herbert Mies.

Member of the Politburo, First Secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee Marian Wozniak received a group of Moscow journalists sojourning in Warsaw at the invitation of the SD [Association of Journalists] of the PRP.

Member of the Politburo, First Secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee Marian Wozniak and alternate Politburo member, Secretary of the Central Committee Jan Glowczyk received a delegation of the theoretical and political organ of the Korean Workers' Party "KYLIADZA" led by the editor-in-chief Kim Jang Hok. The delegation sojourned in Poland at the invitation of NOWE DROGI.

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PARTY, CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Party Members Assessed at CC Meeting

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDA in Polish 1 Oct 85 p 2

[Article by Anna Poplawska: "Image of Consciousness and Desires of Party Members"; passages in slantlines rendered in boldface in text]

[Text] /Since the 9th PZPR Congress, party members have forwarded 14,000 suggestions to the Central Committee, out of which 1,200 were forwarded in the course of the last reports campaign. This is certain proof of activity and the desire to improve the operation of the party, the state and the economy./

As time goes by, the suggestions arriving become increasingly realistic and take into account our resources. They present an image of both the state of consciousness and the desires of party members. Post-congress practices have set up in the party a mode of processing the suggestions which allows us to use them optimally and gives satisfaction to those submitting suggestions at least by way of an objective response to every request. Therefore, it is not surprising that on 30 September, the Intra-party Commission of the Central Committee considered these issues for the fourth time in the current term.

Two reports prepared by the Political-Organizational Department of the Central Committee and introduced by the Deputy Head of this department, Jan Bluszkowski provided the point of departure for the discussion chaired by member of the Politburo, Secretary of the Central Committee Tadeusz Porebski. The first report concerned the suggestions received after the 9th Congress, which fall within the jurisdiction of the next party congress and the other--the status of implementing the suggestions made during the report campaign in 1985.

/Despite the unanimously high evaluation of the response by party echelons and organizations to the suggestions, the need to further improve the activities in this field was stressed./ This concerns primarily the very mode of making suggestions: not every request voiced at a meeting becomes a suggestions automatically; it must be reviewed and supported by those present at the meeting or at least a segment of them. This also includes



the use of recurring suggestions in decision-making and control actions. The style and essential content of some of the responses received by the party members making suggestions from the central administrative authorities was criticized. However, it was stressed that the established mode of party work on the basis of suggestions reinforces intraparty democracy on the one hand and increases the efficiency of this work on the other hand.

/A majority of suggestions made in this year's reports campaign involves economic issues, especially the mechanisms of economic reform, incentive systems promoting labor productivity as well as construction, housing policy and consumer products' supply./ Against this background, the sometimes apparent ease of formulating requests in the form of claims and the generality of some suggestions were pointed out. All the suggestions concerning the operation of the party which were accepted for implementation are in the process of implementation; all of their authors have received written responses.

Kazimierz Rokoszewski from Warsaw, Artur Kwiatkowski from Wloclawek province, Czeslaw Borowski from Konin, Franciszek Banko from Chorzow, First Secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Zamosc Wladyslaw Kowal, First Secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Kielce Maciej Lubczynski, Head of the Socio-Legal Department of the PZPR Central Committee Janusz Kubasiewicz, Wieslaw Bialas from Lublin, Secretary of the Main Board of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Youth of Poland] Marek Unger, Head of the Political-Organizational Department of the Central Committee Kazimierz Cypryniak and alternate member of the Politburo, Secretary of the Central Committee Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak in turn took the floor in the discussion.

Kazimierz Cypryniak went on to inform the commission members on the course of the Sejm election campaign, whereas the participants of the meetings shared observations on that issue made in their respective areas.

In accordance with the commission's previously expressed wish, the last item on the agenda included a presentation by the Deputy Head of the Economic Department of the PZPR Central Committee Andrzej Dobrycki on the guidelines for recruiting employees for construction projects abroad, which brought about an exchange of critical views.

#### CC's Cultural Commission Meeting

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Oct 85 p 2

[Article by Jerzy Kwiatek: "Long-Range program for the Development of Culture"; passages in slantlines rendered in boldface in text]

[Text] A meeting of the Cultural Commission of the PZPR Central Committee was held on 30 September. It was chaired by Member of the Politbureau of the PZPR Central Committee Hieronim Kubiak./

On behalf of the program team, Jerzy Kossak presented the topical assumptions of the long-range program for cultural development in People's Poland.



For the first time, it is suggested that culture will be treated as an entity which, together with science and education, is an essential factor in social and economic progress; it serves to promote comprehensive development of personality and democratization of social structures. The assumptions of this program adopted by the commission will be discussed in [various] basic party organizations, not necessarily those in the cultural community. The assumptions so amended will be used in preparing materials for the 10th PZPR Congress and will also be utilized in working out the long-range party program.

At the meeting, the commission also learned about an analysis of the state and improvement of the system of educating the cadres of culture and education presented by Dzierzymir Jankowski.

Jerzy Adamski offered information on the course of preparing a report on current cultural problems in Poland. This report will be adopted at the plenum of the National Council of Culture in November 1985 and, among other things, will be used in the discussion on the long-range program for cultural development.

Deputy Minister of Culture and Art Wacław Janas presented an evaluation of the operation to date of the Foundation for the Development of Culture and the 1986 draft allocation. The commission endorsed the efforts of the Ministry of Culture and Art to increase the rate of deductions from the sums replenishing this foundation from 13.6 to 15 percent. The commission reiterated its opinion that contributions to the foundation do not exempt organizations and enterprises from expending additional funds for their cultural activities.

Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Waldemar Swirgon, Deputy Prime Minister Mieczysław F. Rakowski, Head of the Department of Culture of the PZPR Central Committee Witold Nawrocki and Chairman of the Sejm Commission on Culture Łukasz Balcer took part in the proceedings of the commission.

#### Central Control Commission Meeting

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28-29 Sep 85 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "Meeting of the Presidium of Central Commission of Party Control"; passages in slantlines rendered in boldface in text]

[Text] /On 27 September, the presidium of the CKKP [Central Committee of Party Control] met in a session. The results of talks conducted by the leadership of the CKKP with the participation of the relevant departments of the Central Committee were reviewed. The talks with certain party members from among the leading cadres of several ministries and central institutions were conducted on the basis of the NIK [Main Chamber of Control] materials.

The talks concerned the reasons for the shortfalls which have recently occurred in both the production and distribution of some consumer goods,

e.g. detergents, toothpaste and cheaper brands of cigarettes./The commission heard the explanations of the reasons for the above-mentioned shortfalls and familiarized itself with the ad-hoc measures undertaken with a view to their alleviation./ In this reference, the need was stressed for the relevant ministries and retail trade organizations to make further necessary steps in order to cover permanently the demand of the market for the above-mentioned goods. After all, resorting all too frequently to ad-hoc measures when a shortage of certain goods occurs does not bring about a permanent solution to the problem, and on many occasions even needlessly increases the costs shouldered by the state.

It was found that along with objective reasons which contributed to this situation, inspections by the NIK also revealed an array of shortcomings and irregularities of subjective nature which should not be occurring. It was recommended that such shortcomings be promptly eliminated by the apparatus reporting to the relevant ministerial management and central institutions. At issue is primarily correct preparation of the balance of needs in the enumerated consumer goods, close cooperation between the ministries and retail trade organizations in the field of cooperation between enterprises, production and distribution.

/While fully supportive of the steps taken in the field in question by the CKKP leadership, the Presidium also stressed the personal responsibility to the party of the PZPR members, especially those in positions of authority in the national economy, for the smooth and efficient operation of the apparatus subordinated to these comrades./

Basic party organizations operating in the ministries and central institutions should take considerably more interest in these issues.

The presidium also reviewed the results of similar talks conducted by the CKKP with party members in positions of authority in certain foreign trade organizations and offices as well as other institutions. The NIK inspections in these units revealed, among other things, cases of improperly prepared trips abroad which subsequently resulted in their reduced efficiency.

It was resolved that in especially glaring cases pointed out in the NIK inspection materials, responsibility for them of particular party members be determined and appropriate decisions be made by the provincial committees of party control in Wroclaw, Katowice, Poznan and Warsaw.

/In the next item on the agenda, the CKKP presidium evaluated the operation of Provincial Party Control Commissions in Krakow, Kielce, Torun, Przemysl and Biala Podlaska./ The leadership and aktiv of these commissions were recognized for their vigorous and committee work in ruling, inspection and prevention, as well as the increasing efficiency of their actions ensuring the observance of the norms and principles of the PZPR statute by the party members. At the same time, the need to improve the efficiency of provincial party control commissions was stressed, especially with regard to efficient response to criticism in the press, radio and TV as

well as reinforcing the supervision of the rulings of party control commissions at the basic level, especially the ones whose decisions are sometimes marked by excessively liberal approach to the offenses committed by party members.

/The presidium obligated the provincial commissions to, among other things, react more resolutely to the manifestations of all negative phenomena, rigorously safeguard the intraparty discipline as well as exemplary discharge of service duties by the PZPR members, to condemn and punish the perpetrators of all actions running counter to morality and party ethics, including, among other things, alcohol abuse, to promote vigorously the consistent elimination of phenomena which are justifiably the subject of social criticism, to analyze in more depth and take a resolute attitude to the cases of mismanagement which are the fault of party members and to counteract efficiently all shortcomings revealed in the operation of public services which are set up to serve the citizens./

The presidium also stressed the necessity of consistently improving the methods of operation of provincial commissions, especially their clear-sightedness and adherence to principles along with fully observing the principle of objectivity.

The proceedings were chaired by Chairman of the CKKP Jerzy Urbanski.

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PZPR ACTIVITIES NOTED

CC Internal Party Commission Meets

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 2 Oct 85 p 2

[Text] The Internal Party Commission of the PZPR Central Committee met again recently. Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee, presided. Stanislaw Kalkus, member of the Politburo; Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, secretary of the Central Committee; and Henryk Bednarski, secretary of the Central Committee participated in the meeting. For the fourth time during the term in office of the present Central Committee, the commission discussed the functioning of the procedural system for proposals submitted within the party.

Wroclaw Aktivs Meet, Elections Discussed

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Oct 85 p 2

[Article: "Meeting of the Political Aktiv in Wroclaw"]

[Text] On the first of this month, the most important socio-political problems of the country and the ideological tasks of party work were the subject of the meeting of the political aktiv of the Wroclaw Voivodship with Jan Glowczyk, alternate member of the Central Committee and secretary of the Central Committee. The Sejm elections and ways of improving the use of the mass media were also discussed.

J. Glowczyk characterized the party's tasks before the elections and also after them--during the preparations for the 10th Congress of the PZPR. He noted the particular significance of improving the methods and forms of propaganda that should primarily provide arguments based on facts because people evaluate and compare them with their own knowledge and experience in any case. A positive change is taking place in people's attitudes as normalization progresses; increasing numbers of individuals are expressing concern for Poland in full comprehension of the reality of the situation, threats, and preconditions for the positive development of the Fatherland. It must be noted that as normalization progresses that social criticism is increasing in the mass media--in the press, radio, and television.

## Writers' Group Discusses Union Election

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Oct 85 p 2

[PAP wireservice report: "Meeting of the All-Polish Party Writers' Group"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /The situation in literary circles at the beginning of the current election campaign was the topic of discussion on the first of this month at the meeting of the All-Polish Party Writers' Group of the Culture Section of the PZPR Central Committee held at the Union of Polish Writers./

It was noted during the meeting that the ZLP [Union of Polish Writers] has finished organizing itself and is now conducting its normal, active affairs in accord with its statutes. The union currently represents 700 members, among whom are about 200 young, talented writers. It has become an important forum where writers can conduct a dialogue and express and compare their opinions and views.

/A great deal of attention during the discussion was devoted to the tasks confronting the writers during the period leading up to the Congress. This period should be used to discuss and exchange views of the subject of the previous and future activities of the writers' organization and also the tasks and the role of the writer and contemporary literature in a socialist society./ The group expressed concern over the delay in the passage of the new legal convention for publishers and the lengthening of the publication production cycle. In discussing this problem, Vice-Minister of Fine Arts and Culture Tadeusz Zachariasiewicz stated that the special convertible currency and zloty funds granted during the last few days should begin to improve the state of the printing plants during the coming year.

The following writers participated in the discussion, which was lead by the chairman of the group /Andrzej Wasilewski/: /Janusz Roszko, Zbigniew Safjan, Jerzy Jesionowski, Stanislaw Stanuch, Jerzy Wittlin, Barbara Nawrocka-Donska, Wlodzimierz Sokorski, Krzysztof Gasiorowski, Ireneusz Kaminski, Zbigniew Domino, Zygmunt Flis, Mirosław Kuzniak, Janina Dziarnowska, Zbigniew Nienacki, Ewa Nowacka, and Krzysztof Coriolan./

In summarizing the discussion the Director of Culture Section of the CC PZPR /Witold Nawrocki/ directed attention to the necessity of increasing the activity of literary and cultural journals which should react in a more lively fashion to events in the literary and cultural life. The Party Writers' Group should evaluate the activity of these journals together with their editors. Also the group should conduct an evaluation of the editorial policy of the BELLES LETTRES publishers and their programs for contemporary Polish literature.

## PZPR Warsaw Committee Session

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU In Polish 3 Oct 85 p 5

[passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] On the second of this month the PZPR Warsaw Committee met to evaluate the PZPR District Committee for South-Praga which has 270,000 residents. Since

1983 the number of residents has grown 4.4 percent but the number of young people less than 15 years of age has grown 6 percent during the same period. This establishes the priorities of most pressing issues such as construction of new apartment buildings or service facilities, or restoring old housing facilities.

The self-evaluation of the socio-political and economic situation conducted by the PZPR District Committee, besides characterizing the solutions of current problems, also contained a number of critical remarks about its own work. Among them were delays in the dedication of service facilities for housing complexes, the incomplete realization of well designed housing complexes, and occasional unjust assignment of rotation apartments.

/During the course of the meeting it was observed that the situation in the district is similar to that in others. It, however, presents a number of more favorable elements. The internal party work is conducted correctly with innovative forms and methods of work with the socio-political aktiv./

The undertaking of many initiatives in the area of productivity, improving management and organization of work in enterprises, better use of work time has led to improved economic performance. In addition to the accomplishments, however, there are problems: more effective indication of the party tasks to party members in both personnel policy and planning, management, and work organization.

The PZPR Warsaw Committee established the tasks resulting from the evaluation of the PZPR District Committee for South-Praga. Yesterday the PZPR Warsaw Committee met with the party-service aktiv of the Capital City Internal Affairs Office. On the eve of the day honoring the Citizens' Militia and the Security Service, the committee expressed its recognition and gratitude for their devoted, loyal service to the people of the city and the voivodship. /Marian Wozniak/, member of the Politburo of the CC and first secretary of the PZPR Warsaw Committee, presided over the meeting.

#### Party Pledged to Spread Marxism

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Oct 85 pp 1, 2

[Article by hpr: "Disseminating Knowledge of Marxism--The Party's Obligation"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] On the 3rd of this month in the Ursus Mechanics Factory, the central inauguration of the party training year was held. The lecturers and students of party training from throughout Poland were represented by a group of a few dozen of the best lecturers from the various voivodships, lecturers of the Academy of Social Science, the Polish Army, instructors of the CC PZPR, The Warsaw party aktiv, and representatives of the basic party organizations of plants in the capital city.

Marian Wozniak, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the PZPR Warsaw Committee; Henryk Bednarski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; and Wladyslaw Loranc, director of the Ideology Section of the PZPR Central Committee participated in the ceremonies.

The inaugural lecture titled "The Tasks of the Party in Strengthening of Leading Role of the Working Class in the Building of Socialism in Poland" was given by the director of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences], Prof Dr Dazimierz Doktor.

During the ceremony Henryk Bednarski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee spoke. He emphasized that it was no accident that the central inauguration of the training year was being held in a large factory, a center of the working class, such as the Ursus Mechanics Factory. It is a symbol of the need for the party to maintain its lasting contact with the working class, which is a condition for the party's policy to be effective.

Comrade Bednarski also spoke of the role of the ideology in the life of the individual and of peoples, about how it is the force motivating action. This is why ideology is so important for the party. In this context Comrade Bednarski, alluded to the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, emphasizing the importance of that portion of its resolutions, which discusses the need for directing the best personnel to ideological work and the role of training and ideological work at the lowest levels of the party organization.

In connection with world political conflicts, with the intensification of the international situation and ideological conflict, with propaganda attacks on Poland, he emphasized the significance of Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski's speech at the jubilee session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

In conclusion Comrade Bednarski emphasized the significance of party training during the current year--a year during which elections to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic will be held and during which preparations for the 10th Congress of the PZPR, which will develop the program for party activities for the near future, are being made. /"I think, that such a program can be created only with the full participation of all the members of our party. Lively, creative, bold ideological work by every party organization can and should be the stimulus for this effectiveness."/

During the inauguration, 59 instructors and lecturers were awarded medals "For Disseminating Marxism-Leninism."

An important element of the ceremony was the giving of 14 young employees of the Ursus factory their PZPR candidate-member cards.

The lecturers participating in the inauguration held a working meeting with Comrade Henryk Bednarski and Wladyslaw Loranc, director of the Ideological Section of the PZPR Central Committee, to discuss ideological work during the new party training year and toured the Ursus Mechanics Factory, the exhibition "From the History of the Polish Labor Movement," and the factory museum. They also met with representative of the Secretariat of the PZPR Warsaw Committee and the PZPR District Committee for Ochota and received medals commemorating the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Warsaw.

During the last few days the party organization of the Kielec, Piotrkowski, and Poznan Voivodships began the new party training year.

#### Intervoivodship Party School in Szczecin

Warson TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Oct 85 p 2

[Text] On the 3rd of this month in Szczecin the Intervoivodship Party School opened. The aktiv of three voivodships (Koszalinski, Gorzowski, and Szczecinski) are to study there. The goal of the institute is to actively and systematically spread the scientific worldview, deepen knowledge and belief in Marxism-Leninism.

The high standards of instruction will be assured by teaching personnel from academic institutes for socio-political institutions of higher learning in Szczecin: The University, the Agricultural Academy, and the Technical University.

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## CONTENTS OF SEPTEMBER ISSUE OF 'NOWE DROGI'

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 1 Oct 85 p 3

[Article by (mi): "New Issue of 'NOWE DROGI'"]

[Text] Kazimierz Morawski writes on the efficiency of party work in the September issue of NOWE DROGI. The article consists of excerpts from the report made at the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Audit Commission. Referring with criticism to the efficiency, forms and methods of party work, the author, among other things, writes: "Tremendous organizational, moral and economic costs of collective work carried out in an extensive fashion are the result of the "meeting-oriented" mode of operation. It also entails a considerable propaganda loss. Finally, the meetings, consultations, plenums and conferences result in the devaluation of these forms of party activity and the blurring of their hierarchy and the distinction in significance among them ... Idle talk, various descriptions, digressions, declarations and rhetorical tour-de-force not related to the topic of the meeting are quite frequent in the [life of the] party. There is also an environment conducive to that mode of operation. All too often, the duration of a meeting or conference, the number of those given the floor etc., are the yardstick by which their success is measured."

The phenomenon of ideological struggle in the sphere of education and upbringing and its forms are discussed by Bronislaw Ratus. Among other things, we find the following in the article: "On the basis of, among other things, the Polish experience, it can be stated that in the period when the party of the working class, the state authorities and the allies of the party are weakened (regardless of the reasons for this, which are generally complex and multifaceted), the penetration of education, upbringing and colleges by antisocialist forces or groups always intensifies."

An article by Jan Kostrzewski is devoted to the 3rd Congress of Polish Science scheduled for December of this year. The author recalls the achievements of scientists in the People's Poland and changes in the organization and system of management in education, science and technology development and presents the agenda of the forthcoming congress as well as the tasks it faces.

Jerzy Jaskiernia writes about the activities of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth], the functions of the PRON and the prerequisites for their implementation.

Sylwester Zawadzki is the author of an article entitled "Development of Socialist Democracy and the Coalition Mode of Power." In the ending of the article we read: "In general, it can be stated that our society thus far has been badly informed about the operation of the coalition mode of power even in its present form which certainly is not yet fully developed. A change in the approach of the party and, subsequently, of the mass media to this issue could facilitate better operation of the coalition mode of power and, consequently, the elimination of the discrepancy between the doctrine and the actual status, the acceleration of the process of reinforcing the trustworthiness of the authorities and the implementation of the socialist renewal."

Aleksander Kopec and Mieczyslaw Nasilowski wrote about the issues of implementing and streamlining economic reform. Wacław Mejbaum and Jan Debowski take the floor in the discussion on the national dialogue and understanding. Also, NOWE DROGI offer a set of polemical statements on the issues of property under socialism by Jerzy Ostrowski, Tomasz Piwowarun, Aleksander Madejski, Danuta Zawislawska and Ryszard Zabrzewski.

Another set devoted to the cadre policy of the party contains articles by Romuald Polinski, Henryk Chwiałkowski, Józef Baran and Stefania Dziecielska-Machnikowska.

Stefan Hatys contributed the article entitled "Military Force in US Foreign Policy (1945-1980)" to the section concerned with international issues.

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SOVIET TIES EMPHASIZED IN INCREASED CULTURAL, OTHER EXCHANGES

Jablonski Receives USSR Studies Society

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Sep 85 pp 1, 2

[Text] On 12 September 1985 the chairman of the Council of State, Henryk Jablonski, received the members of the Presidium of the Chief Council and Congress Committee of the Polish-Russian Studies Society at the Belvedere Palace. They acquainted the chairman with their 5,000 member organization, which endeavors to serve to increase, develop, and disseminate experiences in the area of teaching of the Russian language, Russian and Soviet literature, as well as a rapprochement with Russian culture.

The chairman of the Council of State acknowledged the public achievements of the society. He stressed the role of knowledge of the Russian language for contemporary Polish society. In the area of Polish-Russian cultural relations, the need to strengthen ties between our nations and peoples, and those of the entire socialist camp, opens the door to great Soviet cultural and scholarly activity and the achievements of all the Soviet nationalities.

Writers' Unions Cooperate With USSR

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14-15 Sep 85 p 3

[Text] A group of young and mature Polish writers spent time in the Soviet Union in accordance with an agreement between the Union of Polish Writers and the Union of Soviet Writers. The Polish guests met with the heads of the chief writers' unions in the RSFSR and the Soviet Union, as well as with young Soviet writers.

During their stay in the Soviet Union, the Polish writers concluded a preliminary agreement on the publication, in the Soviet Union, of an anthology of young Polish poets.

Soviet Cultural Section Visits

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14-15 Sep 85 p 6

[Text] The Soviet MSZ [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] Department of Cultural Cooperation delegation together with deputy director, V.A. Korolev, visited

Warsaw on 9-13 September at the invitation of the Department of Press, Cultural, and Scientific Cooperation of the MSZ.

The delegation carried out talks at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and at the Ministry of Culture and Arts concerning the plan on fulfillment of an agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation for the years 1986-90.

The delegation was received by the director of the PZPR Central Committee Cultural Department, W. Nawrocki.

#### Soviet Rationalizers Visit

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17 Sep 85 p 2

[Text] The delegation of the USSR Central Council of the All-Union Association of Inventors and Rationalizers (WOIR) is currently visiting our country at the invitation of the Presidium of the National Association Council of the Provincial KTiR [Technology and Rationalization Club]. Members of the Soviet delegation, Eugeniusz Tiurin, chairman of the Central WOIR Council and member of the Presidium of the All-Union Council of Trade Unions, and Vladimir Tiazantsev, member of the Presidium of the WOIR Central Council and chairman of the Ukrainian WOIR Federated Council, met with the NOT [Chief Technical Organization] honorary chairman, Prof Janusz Tymowski, as well as with the WKTiR association administration chairman, Wieslaw Kotorba. The discussion centered on issues concerning the organization of the inventors' movement in both countries.

#### Seminar on Relations With USSR to Open

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Sep 85 p 2

[Text] A secretary and member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, Jozef Czyrek met with the representatives of the TPPR [Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship] and PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences] chief administration and departments in conjunction with the upcoming inauguration of the third edition of the postgraduate seminar on Soviet Studies and Polish-Soviet Relations.

Results and experiences on the operation of the seminar to date, as well as the scientific and organizational purposes of its next edition were discussed. The high-level scholarship of the lectures and seminar activities, as well as the effectiveness of studies which exceeded 90 percent was stressed with satisfaction.

The joint establishment of the seminar by the TPPR ZG [Main Administration] and PAN results from the realization of the October 1982 PZPR Central Committee Politburo resolution, as well as the resolution of the XI TPPR Congress. It supplies its attendees with knowledge of a high level both in the area of the history of Polish-Soviet relations and the Great October Socialist Revolution, as well as in the current development of the Soviet Union and its domestic and foreign policy.

Seminar participants included graduate students, activists, TPPR lecturers, LWP [Polish People's Army] officers, party workers, ZSL [United Peasant Party] workers, and workers of youth and public organizations. A large percentage of the attendees are non-party members.

The general secretary of the TPPR ZG, Stefan Nawrot; TPPR ZG secretary, Dr. Boleslaw Borysiuk; PAN Scientific Council, Prof Henryk Cholaj; deputy chairman of the council, Prof Bazyli Bialokozowicz, as well as the education director for the seminar, Stanislaw Lopatniuk.

#### Attack on 'Star Wars' at Seminar

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21-22 Sep 85 p 8

[Text] The third consecutive academic year seminar on Soviet Studies and Polish-Soviet Relations was inaugurated on 20 September 1985 in the Polish-Soviet Friendship House in Warsaw. Attendees of the seminar, which came about as a result of a joint Polish Academy of Sciences and Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship initiative, included teachers, military, press, and political workers throughout the entire nation.

The introductory lecture, on the subject of peaceful space research in the USSR, was presented by Prof Jan Rychlewski, chairman of the PAN Space Research Committee. He recalled that since 4 October 1957, from the first Sputnik flight up to the present, when research on the spacelab platform of the Salut-7 is being carried out by a 5-person crew, the Soviet space program is being carried out according to plan and with momentum, and above all, represents a program of the peaceful exploration of space.

The chairman of the PAN Space Research Committee also discussed the American 'Star Wars' Program. Despite the name, he stated that it concerns the very earth-oriented goals of destabilizing the military balance and a new escalation of the arms race.

#### Soviet Rationalizers Visit PRON

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Sep 85 p 5

[Text] The Soviet Central Council for Friendship of Inventors and Rationalizers together with chairman E. Tiurin and with OPZZ [National Confederation of Trade Unions] deputy chairmen, L. Brojanowski and S. Koziaczy discussed the significance of technology and rationalization in the improvement of technological processes and higher manufactured goods. Experiences concerning participation of professionals in the development of work-related inventions were mentioned. Methods for continued cooperation in this area were discussed. The delegation of Soviet represent a continuous, permanent, and unusually important phenomenon in the constant expansion of our brotherly relations.

The TPPR, which found expression in the resolution adopted by the plenum, intends even more active participation in the fulfillment of the state plan for cultural exchanges between Poland and the Soviet Union.

The ZG TPPR also addressed a pre-election appeal in which we read, among other things, that: "We will go to the ballot boxes with a sense of historical achievement concerning the entire 40-year period of the Polish People's Republic. This joint cooperation is already yielding results apparent in surmounting the great difficulties of recent years. We as a nation have done much to advance our path to socialist development, but many matters still await solution. The PRON election statement speaks accurately about them."

The solution of the problems of greatest importance to Poland serves to strengthen the alliance and cooperation between Poland and the USSR, and the intensified friendship of our people with those of the Soviet Union. This in particular, is a basic goal and task of everyday TPPR work, representing practical support delineated by the 9th PZPR Extraordinary Congress program of socialist renewal. TPPR members will demonstrate this support by their active participation in the electoral campaign."

A 2-day session of the 3rd General Organization of the Polish Russian Studies Society began on 23 September and devoted itself to the discussion of current problems affecting Russian studies in Poland and prospects for future development.

Currently the PTR includes approximately 5,000 members. These represent teachers of Russian in schools and universities, and scholars involved in Russian Studies issues. They play an important role, not only in the teaching of the language but also in drawing the Soviet Union, its history, culture and scholarly achievements closer.

12229/12790

CSO: 2600/29

ACADEMIC SAYS STATUS OF CIVIL LAW CODE NEEDS UPGRADING

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 35, 31 Aug 85 pp 3,4

[Interview with Professor Zbigniew Radwanski, Faculty of Civil Law, Mickiewicz University in Poznan, by Andrzej Jankowski: "The Discrete Sentence of Upgrading"]

[Excerpts] [Question] Professor, broadly-planned work on the Legislative Council's "Report On the Status of the Law" is continuing. Civil law was also thoroughly analyzed and evaluated in this work.

[Answer] ...We cannot forget that the concepts of the presently-used civil code were established 25 years ago and many of the solutions adopted from the old code of responsibilities are over 50 years old. Perhaps that is not so old when one compares them to the tradition of Roman law but quite a lot if you consider the rate of social change in Poland and throughout the world. As a group, we have therefore come to the conclusion that this is now the time to discuss whether the civil, family and welfare codes should be changed and how much. We must also consider whether civil proceedings have remained effective instruments of legal regulation.

[Question] What do you mean by "effective instrument of legal regulation"?

[Answer] Any assessment of the place and role that the code has within the legal system must consider two things. First we must look at whether it is supposed to be a "ruling" act and therefore an expression of common ideals and a keystone for standards of law outside of the code or also a "ruling" act. Second, we must consider whether it should also regulate social relations.

With regard to the civil code, we have seen that both of these functions are not being properly fulfilled. Furthermore, with the passage of time, they have grown weaker, thanks to the growth of other legislation, for example.

We must remember that the civil code offers protection at the motion and initiative of a plaintiff who has been affected by some violation of law. This is really a "self-service" law that assumes an active attitude by the participants to a legal transaction that the state apparatus is only supposed to assist. The parties to such a transaction must therefore know and

understand the law to be able to make use of the opportunities that it provides. Therefore, external regulations make it harder to some extent for parties to use and benefit from civil law. This is especially true when one looks at its transparency, completeness and instrumental efficiency, i.e. that it "allow itself to be executed by citizens".

[Question] You mentioned the new external regulations but there already do exist acts that were "found" by the civil code and that had already existed before the code was ever adopted. These too were never verified or evaluated from the point of view of how well they agree with the principal assumptions of the civil code.

[Answer] Yes, this was never done. We can therefore say that at the moment the civil code was adopted, the system of civil law as a whole had not been put in order. Furthermore, the code itself lacks sufficient mechanisms to guarantee the system's cohesion in the future. Consequently, the civil code has been subsidized and relegated to the role of an auxiliary act, especially in the realm of laws regulating commerce.

[Question] Therefore, the code has not been harmonized, parties to a legal transaction are not on equal footing and the law of the stronger prevails, right? Has the resistance put up by departments against equal laws for all been so strong?

[Answer] Unfortunately, that seems to be the case. Considerable areas of civil law were and continue to be the object of departmental regulation. The civil code has not led to integration of this legislation. For that reason among others, the sphere of the civil code's direct action on social relations is presently so modest and, what is worse, has had a tendency to become even weaker.

[Question] That is the effect but what are the causes? How does the "law of the stronger" intrude on the system of our civil law?

[Answer] One of the causes of this phenomenon should be found in "departmental" domination of our entire legislative procedure. This has continued despite the criticism levelled at this concept and various organizational measures aimed at preventing it. This sometimes leads to paradoxes in which among the motives that legislators use to justify passage of a "new law", they include the insufficiently detailed regulations in the civil code. This includes the fact that no consideration is given the general provisions of the civil code that should be expanded to the normalized sector of life as well as the fact that the civil code has left certain other unique and completely specific cases to be dealt with by special laws.

A characteristic of these external sources of civil law that have come from outside of the civil code is the so-called *lex contractus*, in other words, the existence of general acts created for use in future laws. These provisions do not constitute law in the sense of positive law but they do fulfill identical functions. This type of private legislation above all intrudes into spheres that are left free by the code and intended for negotiations between equal



sides or, what is worse, interfere in areas already covered by the dispositional regulation of law. Very often the *lex contractus* assumes the form of acts issued by administrative organs to economic organs. The uncontrolled use of *lex contractus* is often associated with the stronger side enjoying a dominating position.

All of this demonstrates that external sources of civil law do not come together with the civil code to form a concise and coherent system of sources that is subject to the code. This situation also has detrimental effects on the law as a system as well as for its functioning since it strengthens the position of the stronger parties to a legal transaction.

[Question] We can therefore say that the phenomenon of subsidization of the code has now been recognized at least theoretically. What do you think is a practical way out of this hole?

[Answer] I think that we must above all carry out many expurgations to prevent matters regulated by the civil code from gradually gaining too much independence. These expurgations should first of all put the system into some form of order.

We must also look through laws covering civil legal matters from a point of view of possibly consolidating them from the civil code by, for example, transferring them to a code of some other established and stabilized solutions.

It is also necessary to raise the level of legislative work, especially work to upgrade and change legislative acts.

Finally, we must strive to see that laws outside of the code include a clause on temporary law and that it be in accordance with the principles of temporary provisions of the code.

[Question] Good, but will these measures be enough? Would they lead a perceptible lessening of departmental legislation?

[Answer] Let's be realistic. It seems to be a little unreal to avoid having organs of state administration increase the amount legal standards that they create. For that reason, it would be better to aim not so much at eliminating or limiting such practices but at organizing and strictly organizing them and especially making it possible to easily monitor them (with the possibility of lodging protests).

[Question] The functioning of the two other codes, namely the family and welfare codes as well as the civil procedure code were also very keenly evaluated in the Legislative Council. What observations were made relative to these acts?

[Answer] Generally speaking, the family and welfare codes do not, in our opinion, contain either solutions or gaps that would require quick intervention as in the case of the civil code.

[Question] In a resolution passed a congress of different civil procedure faculties and departments in September of last year, it was stated that the civil procedure code does not offer any qualifications from a point of view of its legislative conception. Has the group that you are directing upheld this opinion?

[Answer] In principle, yes. It must also be added that we did not think it good to limit court jurisdiction in cases involving worker legal suits, social welfare and state-owned business. Some alarm can also be aroused by examples of the creation of trial law "on the periphery of the code of civil procedure". This tends to dissipate the sources of law and creates repetition and gaps in legal regulations. They become sets of autonomous norms that really lie out of the range of control of lawmakers. Another problem is the case of different types of "pre-court" and complaint procedures that are not regulated by any legislative discipline. This matter somehow continues to remain unperceived by lawmakers and has not been echoed in the provisions of the code of civil procedure. An object of critical analysis might also be the accessibility of courts and execution which are, in my opinion, the weakest links in our procedure.

[Question] I do not wish to go into details but after receiving so many observations and qualifications, lawmakers can only come to one conclusion. Is this what really has happened?

[Answer] We feel that the basic codification of civil law and therefore the civil code, family code, welfare code and the civil procedure code should continue to remain in force. However, in our opinion, they require upgrading and modernization and better adjustment to present social and economic needs that will among other things allow for the development of the entire legal system. We must above all strive to see that the civil more than ever before harmonize the entire system of civil law, that it not only "rule" but also "govern" and therefore take on the role of direct regulator of civil legal relations. This task should be carried out in an unhurried manner and with proper attention to these fundamental codifications.

[Question] However, don't you think that the changing social situation today will not allow "unhurried" formulation of lasting solutions? I have observed an entirely contrary trend: hurried legislative work, corrections, self-corrections and, in a word, the greatly changing nature of law, duplicity of legislative delegation, etc.

[Answer] For reasons such as these, we feel that we must in this case use a special procedure that differs from the usual legislative procedure. A good past example of this was the creation of a codification commission to review the three codes. The commission also included specialist teams because it was absolutely necessary to coordinate all legislative changes. To continue a good tradition, such a commission should be formed from well-known theoreticians and practitioners, especially Supreme Court judges and former members of the Codification Commission.

## TWO VIEWS SUPPORT PROTECTED YOUTH 'REGULATIONS'

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Oct 85 p 3

[Articles by Professor Bronislaw Golebiowski, Warsaw University Department of Journalism and Political Science and Marek Ungier, secretary of the Chief Directorate of the Union of Socialist Youth of Poland: "On the Draft of the Law On Youth: Criteria of Youth"]

[Text] [Bronislaw Golebiowski] Under our social, political and economic conditions, a law of this sort is necessary. Three years ago, I worked on the preliminary concepts for this law. Later on, this work was very appropriately taken over by young people. They were aided in this by lawyers and scholars.

The problem of youth is not just a matter of psychology, physiology and education. It is a problem that involves all aspects of socialization. Youth is also affected by everything that it is not socially prepared for, by spontaneous events and circumstances. In hard social and economic situations in particular, these elements can greatly damage the process of educating and shaping a mature personality.

At one time the criteria of youth and maturity were clear. In rural families, children worked on the farm from their earliest years. They learned their future role in life and everything was very clearly laid out. They sometimes faced dramatic prospects but these were clearly specified. The same was true for blue-collar families. Things could be otherwise in intellectual families but everything was still more or less established.

Society has now become shaped around public ownership, access to a greater number of persons to a better chance in life and a greater number of choices in life. This changes a person's outlook and everything in life becomes relative.

Therefore, we must now gain a greater social awareness of what is meant by "youth". Youth is no longer just a period of preparation for what one will face in adult life. Youth has now become a period of participation in today's creation and the shaping of life for the long years to come. Today, no one will undertake the resolution of youth's problems for them. They must work to find their own answers.

The young generation has enormous potential for innovation. It is better prepared professionally and is more intellectually developed. This potential has not been used. The law on youth does not solve the problem but it can give youth an incentive to struggle for a place of their own in life. It can also give them a chance to win that struggle.

In Poland, there is still a traditional approach taken to youth which regards that as a less important time of life. In our history, it was mostly the youth that became involved in rebellions and had the right to "sow wild oats". However, their elders never treated them as equal partners in social and political activity or in the exercise of rule. This was part of the tradition of the nobility and then later that of the noble intelligentsia and petit-bourgeoisie. This also formed part of the tradition in peasant families in which a young person was supposed to say nothing but only work, listen and wait for his own time to come and receive a piece of land which would liberate him. A similar role was played by craft apprenticeship. It was only in the working class which historically was never the numerically strong force that it now is that this approach was not taken.

As our research has shown us, it is characteristically the young workers that have mostly loudly demanded a "youth" law.

[Marek Ungier]

The idea of creating a legal document to set standards for relations between the young generation, the socialist youth unions and the political system of our country and the political administration is an old one that appeared as early as the times of the Federation of the SZMP [expansion unknown] when the Hungarian East German patterns were copied. However, at that time, discussion did not go beyond the activists. The idea was revived in 1981 during the campaign preceding the 3rd Congress of the Unions of Socialist Youth of Poland [ZSMP]. Our congress spoke out on the need for creating such a document that would encompass both the areas of political and social activity of youth and youth unions as well as more concrete matters such as the right to conduct economic activity in private business, partnerships, mixed firms and cooperatives, patronages and youth labor and housing construction cooperatives. The law should also set into order all of the regulations concerning the areas of youth life that have up to now been spread out over dozens of normative acts on culture, sport, education and tourism.

Such an approach to the problems was accepted by the 9th Party Congress and the 9th Plenum even though there were controversies at that time.

Ever since then, there has been continual debate over the concrete form of such a law. Extensive consultation has been conducted within the four unions and beyond. There were two concepts. The first called for creation of not so much a legal act as a declaration of the political will of the state authorities in the form of a law on youth and youth organizations. The second concept called for a more practical law regulating most aspects of youth activity and in the case of ambiguous provisions, giving a certain amount of executive authority to the Presidium of State or the ministers. It is also

hard to bring these two concepts together because our legal tradition has never seen any laws regulating a particular social group. Therefore, there was revived discussion of what was meant by "youth" and what age limit applied to this term.

There are many other points that must be clarified. For example, the idea that a place of work may hire persons "involved with the affairs of socialist youth unions" and those recommended by these unions. This article of the law must be revised. However, if we were to dictate their employment, it would conflict with the principles of economic reform and go against the rights of the worker's councils. In connection with this problem, if the employment of such persons becomes necessary and useful to a plant, that plant can make its own decision in accordance with the law.

For us and for the ZSMP, the announcement of this discussion brought a certain amount of satisfaction. After all, for four years, we have struggled for, requested and demanded such a law.

What are our prospects now? The first places on the voting list contain 38 persons from the ZSMP plus the chairman from the national list. If they are elected, someone will have to continue "seeing to" problems of the law. After all, the premises of the bill state that "through their representatives in the Sejm and the people's councils, youth and the socialist youth unions" will speak up for the interests of their generation and cooperate to create law. This therefore gives a chance to create a real team of young deputies elected on our recommendation and who will not be "painted" representatives.

We expect to see the law regulate partnerly relations between the state administration and our unions. This is especially important in less important problems and details in the field and in the provinces if we are to overcome bureaucracy and reluctance too.

We are sure that the coming law will not give young people any privileges or make any promises. It will not award youth but will give them a chance to more quickly become independent, help them realize initiatives and allow them to solve their own problems with their own hands and heads.

One hears it asked what the law will give to youth. No law can change social conditions or the mentality of people. The law creates a chance to affect a certain change. Whether or not the law is effective will depend on people and how much they identify with the spirit and provisions of this law. That is why broad and earnest discussion in all social circles is necessary.

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CSO: 2600/74

## BRIEFS

ZSL, CZECH FARM UNIONISTS TALK--An agreement was reached in Warsaw regarding cooperation between the United Peasants Party [ZSL] and the Union of Cooperative Farmers of Czechoslovakia. An exchange of experiences will cover achievements in farming and the food industry, the introduction of scientific-technological progress in various spheres of the food economy. The agreement was signed by the following in the presence of Roman Malinowski, ZSL Chief Committee [NK] president; Kazimierz Olesiak, presidium member and secretary of the ZSL Chief Committee and Bretislav Varecka, Chief Council chairman of the Union of Cooperative Farmers of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia [CSRS]. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 25 Sep 85 p 2] 9951

SIWICKI AT AIRWORKS FACTORY--On 24 September, Florian Siwicki, armed forces general, deputy member of the Central Committee of the PZPR Politburo and minister of National Defense, paid a visit to the Communication Equipment Plant, PZL-Mielec. He acquainted himself with the rich and diversified display of the newest domestic air technology presented by individual enterprises of the Association of Air and Motor Equipment. He likewise observed air demonstrations. Army Gen F Siwicki was accompanied by: Janusz Maciejewicz, minister of Metallurgy and the Machine Industry, as well as the following vice-ministers of National Defense: Gen Jozef Uzycki, Polish Army [WP] chief of the General Staff and Gen Zbigniew Nowak, chief inspector of Polish Army technology. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Sep 85 p 2] 9951

FOREIGN DELEGATIONS AT PZPR CC--On 24 September, a meeting of delegations from Afghanistan, Laos and Vietnam which participated in celebrations commemorating 90 years of the peasant movement in Poland, was held in the Central Committee of the PZPR. During the course of the friendly discussion, Stefan Zawodzinski, director of the Agricultural Department of the PZPR Central Committee, informed the guests of the implementation of farm policy and the resolutions of the Ninth Congress of the PZPR in that sphere, and the situation in agriculture and the food economy as well as party work in rural communities. Tadeusz Ruchniewicz, director of the Economic-Agricultural Department of the Chief United Peasants Party [ZSL] Committee participated in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Sep 85 p 2] 9951

NICARAGUAN DELEGATION MEETS OPZZ CHIEF--On 25 September, during a meeting of the Sandinista delegation representing Nicaragua's working class central [CST], which was attended by: Lucio Jimenez Guzman, secretary general and Denis Melendez Aguirre, secretary of international affairs, with Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of [OPZZ], mention was made of the views on activities of trade unions in both countries as well as the international trade movement. The Polish flank emphasized its constant sympathy with the struggle of the Nicaraguan nation for its independent and sovereign development. On 25 September, Stanislaw Gabrielski, manager of the Socio-Occupational Department of the PZPR Central Committee, received the delegation. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Sep 85 p 2] 9951

HUNGARIAN AMBASSADOR IN KATOWICE--Gyorgy Biczo, ambassador of the People's Republic of Hungary, paid a visit to Bogumil Ferensztajen, first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee [KW] in Katowice, as well as to Tadeusz Wnuk, governor of Katowice. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Sep 85 p 2] 9951

YOUTH MINISTER AT STUDENT CAMP--On 25 September, Andrzej Ornat, minister of Matters Concerning the Youth, met with participants of the camp for recently promoted students of the Pedagogical Institute at Olsztyn, organized by the Association of Polish Students [ZSP] District Council in Rudziaka Pasymskie. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Sep 85 p 2] 9951

MOROCCAN OFFICIAL VISITS--On 25 September, Zbigniew Messner, vice-premier and member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo received Mahmed Busceta, chairman of the Party of Independence of the Kingdom of Morocco, sojourning in Poland at the invitation of the chief committee of the United Peasants' Party [NK ZSL]. Problems relative to the outlook for Polish Moroccan cooperation were discussed. Bogdan Krolewski, main committee secretary, participated in the meeting. Abdessalam Ouazzani, ambassador of the Kingdom of Morocco, was present. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Sep 85 p 2] 9951

RAKOWSKI VISITS GDYNIA SHIPYARDS--On 25 September, while visiting the Paris Commune Shipyard in Gdynia, Vice-premier Mieczyslaw F Rakowski, during interviews with the labor rank and file, expressed interest in the daily routine of the occupational and private lives of the shipworkers. Reference was made to the constantly occurring problem of personnel turnover in that enterprise, as well as matters connected with problems which are augmented for the shipyard by some cooperatives who do not deliver supplies provided for in the contract on time. M Rakowski likewise acquainted himself with other problems concerning the socio-economic status of the shipyard. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Sep 85 p 2] 9951

ROMANIAN PROSECUTOR VISITS--On September 26, Prof Kazimierz Secomski, chairman of the State Council, received Nicolae Papovici, the general public prosecutor of Romania. Participating in the meeting were: Jozef Zyta, general public prosecutor and Ion Tesu, Romanian ambassador. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Sep 85 p 2] 9951



JOURNALISTS MEET INTERIOR AFFAIRS HEADS--Managing representatives of the governmental agency on interior affairs met at Democratic Party [SD] headquarters on Thursday with journalists handling matters dealing with public order and safety in our country. In attendance were: Zbigniew Pudysz vice-minister of Interior Affairs; Brig Gen Henryk Dankowski, departmental director of the Ministry of Interior Affairs [MSW]; Brig Gen Zenon Trzcinski, deputy chief commander of the Civic Militia and Col Dr Jerzy Karpacz, manager of the MSW Bureau of Investigation. They discussed the further stabilization of life in our country, criminal and economic offenses and counter measures. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Sep 85 p 5] 9951

ACADEMIC RESEARCH ON WORKING CLASS--The Academy of Science's Institute for Researching the Working Class is continuing scientific and research work on the status of the working class in Poland. Its basic commitment is to reveal the living conditions of workers against a background of other spheres and social and occupational groups. This is a permanent commitment which in conformity with the intentions of the institute's management should provide for the disclosure of the growth rate of social progress and the changes occurring. Research will be continued and, as to date, their results will be gathered and published in topical volumes. As Prof Leszek Gilejko, the institute's director informed the press, the aim of this scientific facility is not confined to the compilation and presentation of results from research and analysis, but also the enrichment of the subject matter being researched with scientific sessions so that the subject under discussion could be possibly broadly presented and reviewed from various points of view. In a short while work on the next subject concerning the status of the working class in the context of ecological conditions will be completed. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28-29 Sep 85 p 2] 9951

PZPR-SPD TALKS IN WARSAW--On 25-27 September, the latest plenary meeting of the PZPR-SPD labor group for methods on building mutual trust was held in Warsaw. Prof Horst Ehmke and Ryszard Wojna conducted the meeting. H. Emke, vice-chairman of the SPF fraction, was received by Kazimierz Barcikowski, a member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and he also met with Minister Adam Lopatka, Manager of the Bureau of Religious Matters, with Ernest Kucza, minister of Foreign Affairs and took part in discussions on subjects concerning the outlook for progress in the European situation which was organized in the Polish Institute of International Affairs. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28-29 Sep 85 p 2] 9951

'EAST-WEST RELATIONS' LECTURE--Dr Robert O'Neill, director of the International Institute for Strategic Studies [IISS] in London during his stay in Poland at the invitation of the Polish Institute for International Affairs delivered a lecture there on the subject of "The Present State and Future of East-West Relations." [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28-29 Sep 85 p 2] 9951

PZPR CC DELEGATION IN HUNGARY--Budapest (PAP). On 23-27 September, a delegation representing the Economic Department of the PZPR Central



Committee and department manager, Mark Holdakowski, visited Hungary. During the course of discussions with Laszlo Ballai, manager of the WSPR Central Committee Economic Policy Department, our delegation became acquainted with experiences derived from the operation of farm mechanisms in Hungary. Ferenc Havasi, a member of the Politburo and secretary of the WSPR Central Committee, and Lejas Faluvegi, vice premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, received the delegation. The members of our delegation during their meeting with Laszlo Galem, secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions, discussed operational forms and methods of the Hungarian trade unions in fulfilling the functions of representing the interests of the working classes and likewise of energizing improvement in the quality of work. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28-29 Sep 85 p 7] 9951/9190

CSO: 2600/42

ROMANIA

RCP'S ENACHE MEETS PRC JOURNALISTS

AU291209 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Oct 85 p 5

[Text] On 24 October, Comrade Petur Enache, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the RCP Central Committee received the delegation of the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO, central press organ of the CPC Central Committee, led by Zhai Xiandong, deputy editor in chief, member of the Administration Committee of the paper, who is paying a documentation visit to our country at the invitation of SCINTEIA daily.

The meeting occasioned the reassertion of the particular importance of the official visit of friendship Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania together with Comrade Elena Ceasescu paid to the PRC, and of the talks held with Comrade Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, with Comrade Li Xiannian, PRC president, and with other comrades of the PRC party and state leadership. The meeting highlighted the great contribution this visit made to further deepening the Romanian-Chinese relations of friendship and cooperation, for the benefit of the socialist construction in the two countries and the cause of socialism and peace.

At the same time, an exchange of information regarding the current preoccupations and activities of the two countries' press took place and views were exchanged on the cooperation between the central press organs of our parties.

The meeting, held in a warm, comradely atmosphere, was attended by Liu Chunlin, charge d'affaires ad interim of the PRC to Bucharest.

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CSO: 2700/28

CASTRO GREETS CEAUSESCU, DASCALESCU

AU291147 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Oct 85 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, CP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania and to Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania:

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Cuba and the SR of Romania, I extend to you, the RCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Government, and the Romanian people our most sincere, fraternal greetings on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, the State Council and the Government of the Republic of Cuba, and of all the Cuban people.

During the past 25 years, the relations of friendship which bind our peoples, parties, and governments have manifested themselves on the most varied levels. Bilateral cooperation has increased at the same time with constant economic development and the advance in socialist construction in Romania and Cuba.

We are certain that the principles on which our friendship is based and which have the solid Marxist-Leninist foundation will continue to prevail in the future, too.

Permit me to renew, dear comrades, my personal wishes for complete success in fulfilling your high responsibilities, much health, and much personal happiness.

Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and president of the Councils of State and Ministers of the Republic of Cuba.

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CSO: 2700/28

## FURTHER STEPS TO COPE WITH ENERGY CRISIS

AU311308 [Editorial Report] "In the spirit of tasks established by the Political Committee of the RCP Central Committee," Bucharest dailies continue to carry items dealing with energy, coal, order, and discipline questions at local level.

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 25 October carries on pages 1 and 2 two articles by SCINTEIA correspondents Virgiliu Tataru and Eugen Teglas under the common headline "Responsibility, Order and Discipline To Fulfill the Planned Coal Production." In his article, Tataru stresses the need "to increase coal production by making better use of installations" in the Mehedinti mining enterprise and Teglas points out that "increasing the quality of coal is a priority goal of the current and future activity" in the Sarmasag mining enterprise. Teglas follows up his article with the "Evolution of Average Coal Outputs in the Current Year" in percentages as follows:

<u>Month</u>	<u>Percentages</u>
January	100
February	107.3
March	127.6
April	141.2
May	155.8
June	163.7
July	161.3
August	147.4
September	143.7
October	143.8

The author explains the low coal outputs in January and February through "unusually severe climatic conditions" and the difficulties thus faced. The two articles are followed by a slogan calling upon miners to strengthen order and discipline, and increase the sense of responsibility at each workplace.

Under the common headline "Energy Rigorously Used and Strictly Saved" Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 27 October carries on pages 1 and 2 three articles--by Ion Lazar; SCINTEIA correspondent Gheorghe Crisan; and engineer Maftei Hurubean, director at Tirnaveni chemical combine, who deal with the

problem of saving energy, constantly reducing consumption, and with more intensively reusing energy resources in Bistrita and Tirnaveni.

Under the common headline "Energy, a Vital Problem of the National Economy and of All of Us," Romania LIBERA in Romanian on 29 October carries on pages 1 and 3 an article by Eliade Balan entitled: "The Priority in Thermal Power Plants Is To Ensure the Normal Operation of Energy Groups," and on pages 1 and 5 an article by I. Cojocaru entitled "Lupeni: Miners' Initiatives To Increase Coal Output." The first article by Balan describes the steps taken in the Giurgiu thermal power plants to operate at maximum capacity in order to ensure the necessary power and steam for Giurgiu enterprises and homes, while the item by Cojocaru stresses the efforts made in Lupeni in order to "ensure as much coal as possible for the country."

The same paper carries on page 3 an article by Cornelia Simionescu entitled "A New and Impressive Epic in the Struggle for Energy." The author describes the progress in construction of the Riu Mare-Retezat hydropower plant which will have a capacity of 335 megawatts and an annual production of 630 million kilowatts per hour and stresses that "it will contribute to fulfilling urgent tasks in the energy system in the west of the country, an area that is characterized by a great number of consumers." To illustrate the progress of construction work, Mircea Cararat has supplied four 4 x 7 inch photographs of the hydropower plant construction site.

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 30 October carries on page 3 an article by Vlaicu Radu under the common headline of "Energy--A Problem of Maximum Importance and a Concern of Maximum Responsibility." The author stresses that in Romania "as in fact throughout the world, the management of energy in enterprises is not left to chance. Everywhere energy consumption is subject--more or less rigorously--to a management system." The author then describes how this system operates in a Bucharest, Timisoara, and Brasov unit.

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CSO: 2700/28

ROMANIA

STUDENTS LEARN USE OF COMPUTERS IN 'COMPUTER CAMP'

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 13 Sep 85 p 7

[Article by Elena Solunca: "Tomorrow's Researchers and Today's Most Modern Computers"]

[Text] I do not know whether, or how, computers will ever be capable of experiencing emotions, as one of the teachers participating in the First Computer Camp held from 28 August to 5 September at Cimpulung Muscel tried to convince me they will, more in jest than in earnest. I am convinced, however, that a contribution to the complete success of this event was made, along with the high competence of the organizers and the excellent performance of the microcomputers (with certain pleasant surprises to be discussed later), by the dedication and enthusiasm of the teachers, who experimented at the camp with what is called in technical language computer-assisted instruction, with its entire spectrum of meanings and implications. There was deep intellectual involvement, and the enthusiasm of which we have spoken generated and sustained a stimulating atmosphere fostering the assimilation of fresh knowledge and skills and—why not?—creativity. It was an especially fruitful experience, and we see that its fruitfulness can grow progressively when we remember that creative intelligence can burst all restraints when trained from childhood to learn and concentrate. The success of the event is to be credited primarily to the organizers, the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth, cooperating smoothly, and we hope for a long time to come, with the Ministry of Education.

Good Organization, the First Essential Requirement

The success of this camp was prepared and monitored step by step, minute by minute, so that the smallest problem would be promptly resolved and so that the time spent would be time gained for instructing and molding young people who have every prospect of being the promoters of a new revolution in science and technology. The camp was attended by 80 students from 22 districts of Romania and from Bucharest, selected on the basis of grades earned in all subjects, and in mathematics in particular. Interested students of the host city also came, asking to participate in the theoretical and practical activities of the camp. The activities, held at the Dinicu Golescu Lyceum, followed a program which might at first glance appear burdensome and tiring but whose structure and content made the days spent at Cimpulung pass unnoticed. So it was that when I asked students

how they thought future camps could be better organized, I always heard the same answer, "with more time spent at the computer." No more conclusive answer could be given. The program called both for systematic theoretical instruction (which included lectures on the status of computer development in Romania and abroad, potential uses of computers in different fields, and computer components; the program, logical circuit, and programming language concepts and mastery of BASIC language; general automation of technological processes, industrial robots, self-teachable systems, etc) and for actual work with a computer. On the last days a final test was given which provided an exact gauge of the quantity and quality of assimilation of the subjects. The objective results were expressed in the 18 first prizes, 16 second prizes, and 7 third prizes awarded. There was naturally no lack of tourist and cultural-artistical activities, although many of the students gladly forsook soccer games to spend more time at the computer. Here is where the first problem arose. The students came from different grades, the 9th to the 12th, and from lyceums with different curricula. In its first version the program was unable to meet the very strict requirements, and the program was accordingly modified. We were told by Adrian Stoica, an engineer specializing in automation and a representative of the Union of Communist Youth Central Committee, that the decision was made to reduce the time devoted to theoretical instruction and increase the number of hours spent at the computer. This allowed tailoring instruction to the level of each student and made it much easier to grasp the theory, which was assimilated in record time when coupled with work on the computer. In addition, 10th-grade students, for example, quickly mastered elements of theory taught to the 11th grade and devised adequate logical circuits and programs. We should note another observation of interest to psychologists and teachers. Although there were computer games, some of them highly instructive, the students preferred serious work, that is, problems in mathematics, programming, and applications of programs devised by the students. At the same time, at each microcomputer one or two students worked constantly in consultation with an instructor.

Reliable Associates: aMIC, HC 85, and a FELIX Needing No Model Number

It was an ordinary classroom, except that each student's desk had a microcomputer on it. The teacher's desk had its computer, and there was a blackboard like any other, filled with mathematical formulas. Most of the computers were of the aMIC type; they proved to be very friendly even to persons who had never worked with a computer before. Some staff members of the computer department of the Automation Faculty of the Bucharest Polytechnic Institute, in effect the persons who designed the computer projects, gave up days of vacation to stand by the students from dawn to dusk, tactfully and skillfully teaching them all about the aMIC, which is very much indeed. ALL ABOUT THE aMIC is, in fact, the name of a book which is to be published shortly by Editura Tehnica, almost simultaneously with commencement of mass production of the computer. It has been written by university professor Adrian Petrescu, Professor Gheorghe Rizescu, and others.

The first of the pleasant surprises involved the HC 85 microcomputer, which is supplied with a complement of extensive software programs. It has been officially approved as series 0 and has passed its quality tests

with flying colors. It was designed by the same team of specialists in the computer department. There was another surprise. Another type of microcomputer of the FELIX series has undergone testing. Without yet having an identification code of its own, it has proved to be almost superior to the others. The computers did break down during the first days, of course, but prompt action was taken by a troubleshooting team made up of engineers Eugen Dobrovic and Mihai Berindei of the Bucharest Computer Factory.

But what if all the students were to be unable to keep up with the activity program alertly despite the optimum division into groups and subgroups? The organizers had also taken this probability into account. A consultation and documentation station was set up for this purpose. In an adjoining classroom the students were able to consult as needed specialized references or summaries of mathematical problems which could be implemented on a computer. In this classroom a university instructor answered the most varied questions and helped in correcting errors and in clearing up theoretical and practical problems. In a way the instructor performed the "help" function incorporated in the most modern computers, doing so as only a very good teacher can. We were told by retired teacher Gheorghe Rizescu of the Dimitrie Cantemir Lyceum in Bucharest that it is desirable for the instructor to be a sort of working partner of the student. And here this dedicated teacher was able to put to the test his 15 years of experience in the computer field. And we think that there is no greater joy for a teacher than that of collaborating with former students after a number of years, as happened on this occasion. Young engineer Mihai Berindei had been a student of his and here they met, displaying their professional and human skill and dedication.

#### Opinions and Projects

I met Corina Domnariu of the Cluj-Napoca Mathematics and Physics Lyceum in the lyceum administrative office. She was on duty, and in the quiet of the vacation period spent her time doing computer exercises and creating logical circuits, and to relax read Aldous Huxley's POINT COUNTERPOINT. She was awarded third prize in the national information science contest. In her manner I again observed some of the personality traits characterizing these adolescents, that is, seriousness of attitude and particular maturity of thought promising great future achievement. She says that she has learned a lot here, especially how to work with the HC 85 computer, and that she wants to continue her education at the information science and computer faculty. Like Corina, her associate Dragos Pop has already worked with a FELIX M 18 computer, but the activities at the camp have enabled him to understand better the secrets of these devices, which will soon be indispensable in activities of any kind. Similar thoughts were expressed by Horia Domocos of the Mathematics and Physics Lyceum in Bucharest, Adrian Taciulescu from Cluj-Napoca, Ioana Gorduza of the Gheorghe Sincai Lyceum in Baia Mare, and Calin Moldovan of the Information Science Lyceum in Iasi (winner of second prize in the national information science contest). And since we are speaking above all of enthusiasm and dedication, we feel obliged to mention teachers Romulus Boeriu and Petre Kenez of the Industrial Lyceum in Salonta, who have organized an information science club and have made their own microcomputers available to the students. Their students Tiberiu Borz and



Ilyes Lajos found it easy to adapt to the work program of the camp. Tiberiu Borz, a 12th grade student, told us that he wants to study medicine, reasoning that in the future there will be a great need for specialists with equally thorough grounding in medicine and information science. Iacob Petrescu, a student of teacher Gheorghe Rizescu, is an enthusiast, as are also Radu Balan and Florin Tudor. This enthusiasm is transmitted and sustained by the teacher, by means of a great number of lengthy readings and exercises, which are added to ones in biology and medicine. Whenever this young person encounters an interesting idea while reading a book on biology, he immediately asks himself how it could be put on a computer. He does this because he is convinced that to the person who is assisted by a computer there is no problem which cannot be solved. There is one condition, sustained preparation, constant training of the mind, since, and here the teacher quotes, "most trouble and problems come from unprepared men." He is convinced of the truth that everything depends on man. Among those who reached first place we should also mention, in the order of the grades (9th, 10, 11th, and 12th) Serban Stanasila, Cristian Comanici, Lilliana Gradinaru, Cristian Florescu, Octavian Piuca, Doru Munteanu, Sorin Grigorescu, Radu Negru, and Titus Marian.

I asked the students if the camp's program was not too tiring. Smiling at each other, they replied, "everything is so interesting to us, the program was so diversified, and we visited so many museums and cultural sites, spending some time playing soccer and volleyball, that we haven't had time to be tired," giving me to understand that fatigue is a result of absence of activity and a monotonous program. Again they expressed the hope that more computer time could be scheduled for future camps.

#### A Symposium on Computer-Assisted Education

The meeting with the town's mathematics teachers turned into a symposium on the educational psychology virtues and social efficiency of computer-assisted education. This was a symposium which we continued with those who can rightly be called the mind and soul of this activity. First of all, I spoke again about the experience of this camp with Dr Nicolae Tapus of the computer department of the Automation Faculty, who came here with his colleagues, Dr Trandafir Moisa, Professor Adrian Petrescu, and assistant lecturers Mihai Margarint and Andrei Romulus. Dr Tapus told us that, while the level of preparation of the students was uneven, the inherent difficulties were overcome during the first 3 days thanks to the students' enthusiasm, seriousness, and desire to learn. The necessity and possibility of using computers in education were verified here once again, and this is a powerful argument for general use of computers in all fields. Reviewing the details of organization and extending the idea, Dr Moisa conceives of the need for drawing up a systematic program at the national level for this purpose. Combined efforts, he told us, should be aimed mainly in three directions. The first is provision of computer equipment. This is entirely possible, since the cost of computers is decreasing and microcomputers manufactured in Romania can be used. The second is training of personnel by the methods provided by law, that is, at advanced training centers and especially in the form of individual instruction. The last is provision of documentation and special programs. All these things are possible if the inertia of thought and behavior is overcome and

an effort is made to gain more knowledge. We learn from the ancient Horace that you cannot even want what is beyond your ken. This maxim was illustrated by a meeting with mathematics teachers who were as yet unfamiliar with Romanian microcomputers and their competitive features and who then became interested in learning when and how they could be obtained as equipment for their schools.

Someone might nevertheless ask what computers would be used for in schools. First of all, they would be used to perform numerical calculations rapidly and accurately. Computers can operate at maximum performance without getting tired, sick, or bored. They are objective. Because of their strongly interactive nature, computers create countless opportunities for adapting the process of instruction and education to individual characteristics. The series of reasons systematically presented by Trandafir Moisa also included the computer's ability to generalize the most relevant pedagogical experience, which can be transferred to similar computers. Lastly, these advanced creations facilitate exchange of ideas and experience. These are ideas which have been borne out here by specific experience and which are increasingly gaining credit in the world of specialists. Will computers replace the teacher? By no means, we are assured by Gheorghe Rizescu. Only some of the teacher's functions will change. We must not forget that the computer is an intermediary, with humans on both sides of it. The creations of man will always bear, as a unique likeness, his image embellished and ennobled by everything new appearing on the path of progress in man and for man. On a small scale the experience of this camp confirmed this truth. Its success is due, as we have said, to the high performance of the computers, but above all to the enthusiasm and dedication of all persons involved in the event. I may add that this enthusiasm, with its full spiritual and moral significance, can by means of continual adaptation maintain the sometimes delicate balance between needs, capabilities, desires, aspirations, and ideals.

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## RECONCILIATION CONTROVERSY ANALYZED

Belgrade KNJIZEVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 15 Oct 85 p 6

[Commentary by Dragoljub Petrovic: "Let's Reconcile with Our Friends--Our Enemies Are Already Cooled Off"]

[Text] Spomenka Hribar's article in KNJIZEVNE NOVINE of 1 September 1985 constitutes one of those intellectual and moral challenges that arouse hopefulness. In the quarrel over "national reconciliation," her judgment is unambiguous and wise: "What is involved is no reconciliation with Whiteguardism [collaborationist Slovenian wartime movement], we are in question: The question is how, alongside class struggle and class hatred, to achieve eventually a classless society." Accordingly, what is involved here is not reconciliation with enemies but certain facts that are not nice to mention. One of these seems to be the fact that we shot to death, at Kocevski Rog and elsewhere, almost all the Whiteguardists whom the allies repatriated to us, unarmed, in May and June of 1945--and we did so summarily, without trial. This episode from the initial postwar days shows that we were then in the habit of casually reaching for a pistol and did so much more often than seems today to have been necessary. And people remember that those "revolver habits" of ours remained with us for years after the war--during the era of agricultural collectivization and produce procurement, for example.

Some of our truths are quite ugly, apparently, yet we cannot seem to understand that untruths are nonetheless uglier still.

Let me cite here one of those ugly truths, much less important in its general significance than the one mentioned by S. Hribar. In a certain village, once the Germans began withdrawing, the post of "first interrogator" came to be occupied by a lad known to all as a thief, from whom not even an egg in a nest was safe. Via his pencil, people first went off into wartime units and later into prison and Barren Island [prison camp]. This continued until some women found him rifling a nest and counted his ribs with their sticks. The strangest aspect of all this was that many of the soldiers "mobilized" by him never returned, nor did anyone ever find out where they perished, nor was anyone ever found to witness to their deaths. The comrades later "disavowed" Comrade Eggy and described his adventures as one of the "serious errors" on the path of revolutionary construction. And nothing came of it: Comrade Eggy was said to have fled across the border and to have vanished without trace, in contrast to

the many people who had lost their heads due to his pencil (or kept their heads just sufficiently to be sorry they had), and someone more artful took his place.

This example is accidental, and no one can know whether it is characteristic. However, it may be symptomatic: the party, in its revolutionary onslaught, was capable of relying on morally-problematical individuals, and this fact generated contempt and resistance among honest persons. In this way, persons who were often able to operate only in imitation of their betters found themselves alongside power and in power, smoothly proclaiming any resistance to themselves among the people to be resistance to the party and the revolution, pushing all disobedient ones up against the wall and then sending them off to "re-education" and "socially-useful labor." It is no wonder that not even the word "liberation" has become firmly ensconced everywhere among the people, certainly on account of the fact that the "local liberators" included many more egg thieves and bums than the healthy folk instinct for morality and justice could endure. We do not need a great deal of proof that we have not yet freed ourselves from such habits even today, or that many important social concerns are not in the hands of the competent but in the hands of the "suitable." Hollow political phraseology has become a curtain behind which the privileged have been able to do secretly everything against which they fulminated in public--to squander and steal both the material and cultural property of the people, all in the name of the people, and to brand as an enemy of the people anyone who dared to disagree with all that. This is how the class of so-called rentiers of the revolution came into being, the ones who have renounced God while becoming icon collectors, who never heard of Simonida [medieval Serbian queen] but are capable of giving her necklace to a wife, who advocate educational reform but educate their own children around the world, who provide funds for Great Transports [expensive movie flop] and Obrovaces and FENIs [bankrupt projects] but not for the protection of major cultural and historical monuments.

Another example may be considerably more interesting. The war's whirlwind carried into Serbia refugees from various parts of Yugoslavia, including substantial numbers from Slovenia. The fact that these refugees stayed with their Serbian hosts until the end of the war is familiar, but no one ever says which authorities organized the reception of these refugees and provided for their survival. The folk remembers: representatives of both civil and religious authority concerned themselves with these matters, so the folk cannot understand why these representatives of authority were often later casually pushed against the wall as collaborators and traitors, again according to "verdicts" laid down by nervous gunmen. And the folk always knows whose guilt is which and whose merits are which, and will never mourn someone who has deserved a bullet, just as it will never understand a person who fires a bullet at an innocent person. If wartime is lawless, peacetime ought to be different.

For every bullet that we have fired, we have either a guilty party or an excuse, but it is curious that such a situation should have obtained for more than 40 years. Persons who were sentenced after the war to maximum jail terms and to the loss of civil rights for the maximum term ought to have been amnestied over a period of four decades. Clearly, we have long since cooled off the most dangerous enemies, so now it remains for us to reconcile with friends. And that is a little more difficult, apparently: an enemy wants a job, a

friend autonomy; an enemy fails to understand high inflation, a friend sees to it that no one encroaches on his class interest or ethnic interest; an enemy wonders how to repay a debt, a friend how to refinance it; an enemy asserts that those who steal (icons for example) are called thieves, a friend thinks that schoolteachers ought to be jailed for that; and so on.

For four decades we have been living with enemies and living off enemies, yet we do not notice that we have actually reconciled with them long since: we do not tell the Germans about the fields of slaughter that they left behind, we are reconciled with all the neighbors who "put us in their debt" during the war, we covered up counterrevolution in Kosovo province, we have put the country into hock unto the fifth generation.... Interestingly, enemies are not much mixed up in all that, nor have we shrunk away from them. We recall enemies only when our friends seem to be exaggerating in some respect and we need to hush up their "contributions"; an enemy usually serves us as a pretext, as justification for our own existence. The right to a homeland ought to be taken away from an enemy, although he has less gain from it than the homeland has harm from friends.

If we are compelled to live with debts, inflation, and everything else that our friends have provided for us, cannot we do something to reduce the poison and hatred and to eliminate the terror practiced by ideological and spiritual hygienists, who always know everything that would never occur to an honest person? The Fumuist [from Fuad Muhic] logic of such hygienists does not take into consideration the fact that some enemies have long since been cooled off, and disturbing them can only heat up hatred. If we have kept quiet about so many friends, it would be wise on occasion to keep quiet about an enemy or two. And to keep in mind that betraying the homeland is a luxury available only to a person whose homeland is wherever his checkbook lies.

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